

## STATE FORMATION BY THE GALATIANS OF ASIA MINOR. Politico-Historical and Cultural Processes in Hellenistic Central Anatolia

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An exceedingly important phenomenon for an overview of the history of the Celtic world is the conquest and settlement of land and the formation of states by migrating Celtic communities in Early Hellenistic Asia Minor<sup>2</sup>. This created a new historical and geographical landscape in the area, namely Galatia, superimposed on the older regions of Phrygia and

<sup>1</sup> Klagenfurt.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account see also Strobel 1996, *idem.*, DNP 4, 1998, 742-745 s.v. Galatia; 6, 1999, 393-400 s.v. Kelten (with map); more generally also *idem.*, Phryger, Lyder, Meder, Perser: politische, ethnische und kulturelle Größen in Zentralanatolien bei der Errichtung der achaimenidischen Herrschaft, in: T. Bakır-Akbaşoğlu (ed.), Achaemenid Anatolia, in print; *idem.*, New Historical and Archaeological Evidence for the Reconstruction of the History of Anatolia in the First Half of the First Millennium B.C., in: A. Çilingiroğlu (ed.), Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Symposium (Van 2001). Further preliminary reports of the research in Tavium and Eastern Galatia will be published soon. Results and observations on the campaigns covered in the following are the products of research trips and field research carried out in Anatolia since 1993. As a rule, the author can fall back on his autopsy, his own findings, and on the results of the Tavium Research Project initiated and directed by him. At the same time, he is very grateful to Dr C. Gerber, his field research manager and co-researcher, and many of his colleagues working in central Anatolia who have given him access to their excavations, shared their latest results with him and discussed important questions, in particular I. Temisoy, J. Seeher, K. Sams, M. Voigt, G. Summers, D. Stronach, S. Omura, H. Genz. For more information on the growing number of survey projects carried out in central Anatolia since the 1990s, see the relevant annual reports in AST. In order to limit the length of this article, detailed documentation will be dispensed with. Publication of the author's second volume of "Die Galater" has been delayed due to vital advances made over the last few years in our knowledge of central Anatolia and thanks to research in and around Tavium carried out by the author and his team since 1997. It is, however, now possible to conclude the work on this volume for publication.

In a paper written together with G. Darbyshire, S. Mitchell revised many of his earlier positions (Mitchell 1993; cf. also Strobel 1996, 71ff.) and is now largely in line with the theories of the author (Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999). Mitchell did, however, retain some of his positions, including his premise that internal structure as presented by Strabo (12, 5, 1) only developed in the 2nd century B.C., for which, however, no arguments can be found. It is wrong to assume that Hellenization did not have a profound effect on cultural structures or that such conclusions cannot be reached.

The first large-scale and very commendable description of the Galatians in Turkish was written by M. Arslan (Arslan 2000). Although rich in sources, it summarizes older positions and newer approaches indiscriminately, takes up on sources without critical analysis on several occasions and only takes account of further literature to a limited extent. Arslan is particularly indebted to Mitchell 1993, Strobel 1994a,b, 1996 and Stähelin but his book is a very important step towards familiarizing the Turkish academic community with the Galatians. I am very grateful to Mrs. Helen Heaney for her help in translating this study into English.

Cappadocia<sup>3</sup> – an extraordinary historical process in itself – and left its mark on the language and identity of the people living in the central part of Anatolia for around eight centuries. This is the only case of such events being described in greater detail in classical sources so that the most important features can be reconstructed. At this point, it is wise to stress that the term "Galatai" is ambiguous in classical texts and was used in Graeco-Hellenistic times to refer to all Celts, in a similar manner to the Latin term "Galli". In this paper the name "Galatian" will be used in a limited sense to refer to the Celtic tribes in Asia Minor which the Romans called "Gallograeci"<sup>4</sup>. The term "Celtic" will not be used here in the sense of an ahistorical and problematic cultural concept of the Celts, in place of which they would have to be defined as part of the La Tène culture group, or referring to a "Celtic ethnicity" which never existed in this form, but in the sense of a people who used a Celtic language.

After Lysimachus' empire collapsed and the victorious Seleucus I was murdered in 281 B.C. the groups of Celts, who had settled in the vicinity of the Danube, Sava and Drava and in northern Serbia in the later 4th century, grasped the opportunity to undertake large-scale military campaigns, particularly as the emerging chaos in Thrace and Macedonia, where Ptolemy Keraunos' seizure of power was causing further internal and external commotion, was becoming increasingly obvious<sup>5</sup>. On Lysimachus' defeat, the mesh of ruling power and

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hdt. 1, 6, 1 (*Syrioi* are the same as *Leukosyrioi*/Cappadocians); 1, 28; 1,72, 2; Strab. 2, 5, 31 (Inner Phrygia, the part belonging to the Galatians named Galatia (*Galatia* of the *Gallograeci*, *ibid.* as an unequivocal definition); 12, 3, 9; 12, 8, 1; Plin. n.h. 5, 146 (also Strobel 1996, 254f.); Arr. an. 2, 4, 1 (Ancyra designated as "Galatian").

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Strobel 1996, 123ff. on the name "Galatian" and the concept of the Celts; also Birkhan 1997, 32ff., whose observations are, admittedly, not very substantial in key areas, tending to deal with the problem of attempted archaeological definitions of Celtic ethnicity. His explanations of the name "Galatian" *ibid.* 47f. are not convincing. Misunderstandings also occur in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 192, in their interpretation of the author's emphasis on the Celtic language as an essential element for defining the group despite their cultural adaptation, for being assessed by others and preserving their own identity as a group of foreigners in a foreign-language environment and for evaluating the symmetry or asymmetry of acculturation and ethnogenesis, cf. Strobel 1996, 138f. As a process of cultural change brought about by intensive cultural contact in which the elements involved interact with each other with symmetrical or asymmetrical polarization, acculturation comprises the acceptance and assumption of foreign spiritual and material cultural assets by individuals or groups, whereby the question of language is particularly important for the evaluation. I am deliberately not speaking of assimilation processes as this term is rather one-sided in the sense of cultural, social and spiritual adaptation or diffusion.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Strobel 1996, 16ff., 44, 54ff., 154ff., 214ff. Birkhan 1997, 130ff. is only reliable up to a point and does not go deeper into the question of sources and historical matters (e.g. 140f.: compulsory settlement of the Galatians on both sides of the River Halys by Antiochus I; the Galatians were assigned what must have been the most infertile area of Anatolia, Galatia was of no economic importance; 142: development of an autonomous sacred kingship [?!]; 146: a misunderstanding concerning the position of Ateporix in the district of Caranitis; Ptolemy II is said to have taken the remnants of Brennos' force into his pay). His work is largely based on K. Tomaschitz, *Die Wanderungen der Kelten in der antiken literarischen Überlieferung* (unpublished dissertation, Vienna 1994). In turn Tomaschitz was largely indebted to older concepts and his teacher G. Dobesch (129, 165: mobile existence relying on pillage as described by Dobesch and older research; 106ff., 127ff.: accepting the exaggerated figures in classical sources for the numbers taking part in the Celtic invasion of Greece, estimating the numbers involved as being as many as 300,000 people, and calling the whole expedition a migration in a bid to colonize the area); his version of the history of the Galatians is problematic. Following somewhat

diplomatic relations which had stabilized the area unravelled and the resulting power-political vacuum was self-evident. As early as the summer of 280, three Celtic levies attacked Thrace, Paeonia and Illyria. At the beginning of 279, the army under Bolgios (Belgios) defeated the Royal Macedonian army and Ptolemy Keraunos met his death. The marauding Celts pushed their way through Macedonian territory. In the summer of 279, the large Celtic force under Brennos got on the move, thrusting forwards as far as central Greece, where the Celts were finally beaten back outside Delphi. Fighting in a frenzy of bloodlust, desecrating holy shrines and everything protected by sacred law, sacrificing prisoners and practising headhunting, the Celts appeared to contemporary Hellenes as an incarnation of barbarism, as foreigners threatening their existence, blasphemers against divine law and human order, as the new threat propelled by the forces of "Chaos"<sup>6</sup>. Just like in Italy and Rome, the Celts, or Galatians, became the embodiment of barbarians coming from the north<sup>7</sup>, threatening the "civilized world" of the Hellenes. At this point, however, we should not forget that the Greek world had been in contact with the Celts, intensively at times, since the 6th century and that the Celts had been employed as mercenaries in the Mediterranean area under Greek influence since the early 4th century. The victory over the Celts at Delphi was now stylized in Hellenism as the new outstanding salvation, the exploits of a "Soter", for the Hellenes, as the act of liberation which could legitimize or rather should legitimize royalty, dominion and hegemony as an ideological construct, as can be ultimately illustrated by the example of the Attalids in Pergamum.

Brennos' armed expedition was initially followed by a mass of migrating Celtic peoples comprising groups of Tolistobogii and Trocmi whose aim was to conquer land and settle in the Balkans<sup>8</sup>. The Tolistobogii and Trocmi formed the core of this migrating community, upholding its tribal or ethnic identity and focussing on the identity-bearing tradition of lineage or kinship communities and characterizing the overall identity of the two migrating followings which sometimes operated together under their leaders Leonnorios and Luturios. The aim of this migration, which was said by Hieronymus-Polybius in Livy<sup>9</sup> to comprise approx. 20,000 people, including 10,000 armed warriors, was the conquest and settlement of land. The stated size of the whole group can only be taken as approximate, but it probably lies within the bounds of historical possibility and is entirely plausible for such groupings. The leaders of the migrating bodies of followers were the two *reguli*, Leonnorios and Luturios. Alongside them

unconvincing theses within celtology (e.g. p. 133 referring to J. T. Koch, CMCS 19, 1990, 1ff., and his thesis that the Celts led by Bolgios/Belgios were Belgae) and overemphasizing the workability of the etymological method - one should know better than to go further than determining the common roots of words and word fields - Birkhan's observations did not bring about progress, particularly as he wrongly dismisses Tomaschitz's rejection of the theory of a compulsory settlement of the Galatians, even if the latter's reasoning is not always stringent. Birkhan does not have a clear critical view of archaeological material for the East.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Strobel 1994b; 1996, 214ff.; or Birkhan 1997, 22ff., rather superficial and without analysing tradition.

<sup>7</sup> Referring here to the western part of the northern limits of the Mediterranean and Black Sea areas (cf. also Manil. astr. 4, 791ff.) bordered by the world of the Scythian barbarians to the east.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Strobel 1996, 172ff., 236ff.; idem, DNP 4, 1998, 742ff.; 6, 1999, 393ff.; DNP s.v. Tectosages, Tolistobogioi und Trokmoi (in print); not always conclusive on the Tectosages, for instance in the question of where they came from, Dobesch 2001.

<sup>9</sup> Liv. 38, 16, 1-15, more in Memnon F 1, 1-7; also Strobel 1996, 108ff., 236 footnote 368.



there were 17 chieftains, the leaders of followers, at the head of the migrating military grouping, a community whose objective it was to conquer land for settlement. It was made up of warrior bands, tribal splinter groups or parts of tribes, clans and family groups or parts thereof, and consisted of two main formations under different leaders, namely Leonnorios and Luturios, which were both capable of and ready for autonomous action. Even within these groups and their followers' structures, we can assume a high degree of internal mobility, as regularly observed in phases of migration and conquest or settlement of land. They also tended to absorb individuals and groups of people, as the conquest of land did, after all, always imply the conquest of people as well, along with processes of merging clans and adoption<sup>10</sup>. The fact that the three migrating groups – the original two were joined by the Tectosages – did not develop into a unified *gens* but instead once again cultivated the tradition-bearing individual tribal identities of the Tolistobogii, Tectosages and Trocmi and of their associated subgroups<sup>11</sup> in central Anatolia, i.e. in the then emerging process of ethnogenesis arising out of the territorialization of the migrating communities which gave rise to the historical Galatian tribes in the first place, proves that these core groups were fixed identity-bearing and -conveying unions of tradition. In addition to the names of the three tribes, we know the names of several subgroups or "fourths", named tetrarchies in Greek, obviously following the ancient principle of internally subdividing Celtic people and also reflected in the original division of Ireland into four "provinces", each with their own independent political structure<sup>12</sup>. Thus, we know the tribal subunits of the Voturi and Ambitouti within the Tolistobogii and the Toutobodiaci within the Tectosages<sup>13</sup>. It is not possible to assign the tetrarchy of the Tosiopai to one of the three main tribes<sup>14</sup>. Alongside these 12 tetrarchies as subdivisions of the three peoples of the Galatians, there were the 183 *populi* Pliny the Elder mentioned as additional upholders of lineage which can be seen as kinship groups or clans or (Old Irish) *fine*, or more neutrally as

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pol. 2, 17, 12; Strobel 1991, 132f.; 1996, 60ff., 1998; Birkhan 1997, 986ff, 1037ff.; more generally Wenskus 1961; O. Höfler, RGA 1, 1973, 18-28; Mühlmann 1985; Wolfram 1990; 1997, esp. 20ff., 63ff., 65ff.; Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe 7, 1992, 141-431, esp. 141ff. (R. Koselleck), 141ff. (F. Gschnitzer); Brunner-Merta 1994; Strobel 1998. For an understanding of the course of events, we can also refer to the analysis of Old Irish tradition (see below) as well as to parallels in the Germanic world where numerous political and social structures and concepts were taken over from the Celtic context, and particularly to results from research into phenomena at the time of the Völkerwanderung. The structures of a politically dynamic, mobile aristocratic warrior class in the Middle La Tène period initially appear to have been taken over by Germanic peoples first, predominantly from the Eastern Celtic area, making far-reaching expansion possible for the members of the Przeworsk culture, the Vandilic group of peoples. Cf. comprehensive accounts in Wenskus 1961; Wolfram 1990, 1995; Rübkeil 1992; Rieckhoff 1995; Timpe 1995; Beck et al. 1998.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Plin. n.h. 5, 146.

<sup>12</sup> Cf., for example, Birkhan 1997, 141, 996. on "quarter rulers" as "kings of provinces".

<sup>13</sup> Plin. n.h. 5, 146.

<sup>14</sup> Plut. mor. 259a-c. It is not clear whether the Rhigosages named in Pol. 5, 53, 3 as *symmachoi* or mercenaries fighting in the army of Antiochus III against Molon were a further subdivision of the Galatians in Asia Minor or whether they were recruited directly from the Balkans, like the Aigosages of Attalus I of Pergamum.



kin groups, and which were headed by noblemen<sup>15</sup>. This internal structure is comparable with that of Ancient Ireland, where between 97 and 184 "peoples", *tud*, Old Irish *túath*, are known in tradition to be subdivisions of the "fourths" or provinces<sup>16</sup>. A group of these "peoples" formed a greater ethnic union ("great people", Old Irish *mór túath*), forming their own *gens*, or here a "fourth of a *civitas*" under their "fourth prince" or tetrarch (see below). At this point, it is essential to stress that an *ethnos* represents an intentional unit which does not necessarily have to correspond to differentiation criteria like language and culture in any way<sup>17</sup>. Naturally the same is true for the socio-functional characteristics of its intentional unit, which we define as "Ethnie"; it need not be equated with a cultural group either. An *ethnos* can reach across linguistic and cultural groups but it can also be divided by them.

There is little doubt that, in the winter of 279/78, the migrating communities of the Tolistobogii and Trocmi were on Byzantine territory<sup>18</sup> where they were recruited by Nicomedes I of Bithynia as *symmachoi*, or mercenaries, for himself and his partners in the anti-Seleucid alliance in northern Asia Minor, including Byzantium, Chalcedon, Heracleia Pontica and the Mithradatides, the kings of Pontus, and brought to Anatolia. Of these, the Tolistobogii were the most important migrating military body of followers; their leader Leonnorios then appeared in Asia Minor as the joint leader of the entire military campaign. Nicomedes was – after Dionysios I of Syracuse – the first Hellenistic ruler to engage Celtic "barbarians" on such a scale. Thus he was the one who allowed the "ruinous army of the Galatians which lawlessly ravaged Asia", as the panegyric oracle put it for Attalus I's victory over the Celts, to cross into Asia. It was this recruitment campaign which brought the Celts to Asia Minor as the final destination of their migrations.

The long-term treaty of *symmarchy* which was concluded in 278 between the Celtic leaders and Nicomedes I, and which included all his future successors and also the king's partners in the anti-Seleucid alliance, no doubt proceeded from the lasting presence of the Celts in Asia Minor, who had been offered pay, booty and the promise of land on which to settle for their services. From 277-275 the Celtic *symmachoi* were used to great effect in Asia Minor. They were reinforced in 277 by a migrating group of Tectosages. In 274 there was a pause in the struggle for control of northern and north-western Asia Minor due to the departure of Antiochus I for the first Syrian war, a ceasefire reflecting the current status quo. At this point Nicomedes held the northern part of Phrygia, wrested from the Seleucid sphere of influence with the help of the Galatian *symmachoi*. He handed over the eastern part of this area as far as the River Halys to the Celts, in conformity with the promises he had made. In addition they were given the border area between Pontus and Greater Cappadocia lying in the bend of the Halys and comprising the central fertile landscapes around the middle and lower reaches

<sup>15</sup> Plin. n.h. 5, 146 (195 *populi et tetrarchiae*); the 52 Galatian *duces* taken along on Manlius Vulso's triumphal procession in 187 B.C. (Liv. 39,7, 2) were probably recruited on the whole from captured clan chieftains. Cf., for example, Birkhan 1997, 994ff.

<sup>16</sup> Joyce 1913, 39ff.; Birkhan 1997, 997. Cf. also Liv. 39, 55 or Plin. n.h. 3, 116, on the 112 tribes of the Boii in northern Italy.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. more generally in Strobel 1998; 1999, 17ff.; Heckmann 1992, 30ff.; Kleiber-Pfister 1992.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Strobel 1996, 236ff, 252ff., 257ff.

of the River Kappadox (Delice Irmak) for their services as *symmachoi* which were most likely provided in 274/3 B.C. for the Mithradatides of Pontus during the conflict between these kings and Heracleia over the town of Amasis when fighting back a Ptolemaic invasion by sea. After Antiochus I's victory in the so-called "battle of the elephants", most likely in 268 B.C., the borders of the territory of the Galatians, who had now become very important *symmachoi* for the Seleucids, were defined once and for all in relation to Seleucid territory in the south and west where Bithynia had once again lost the region of Phrygia Epictetus conquered in 277-275/4. Only the border to the territory ruled by the dynasts, and later kings, of Cappadocia between the Halys and the upper Kappadox<sup>19</sup> was still disputed in some places as it was not marked by any prominent geographical features. The conflicts known to have taken place between the Galatians and the powers of Asia Minor after 268 are part and parcel of the conflicts within the world of the Hellenistic states<sup>20</sup> in which the Galatians were still acting as *symmachoi* in accordance with the treaty of 278<sup>21</sup> or as allies of the Seleucids<sup>22</sup> or Seleucid usurpers in Asia Minor. The conflicts with Pergamum were only part of the struggle of the Attalids with Antiochus Hierax and the Seleucid rulers over the position of Pergamum<sup>23</sup> as a great power in western Asia Minor.

The region that Nicomedes handed over to the Celts included the area within the large bend of the River Sangarius, the region of the Koroğlu Dağları and the area south of the mountains as far as the Halys and the Great Salt Lake, the territories particularly to the south of Paphlagonia (the kingdom of Gangra) and the now eastward-expanding Bithynian empire. To the north, the north-western limits of Paphlagonia (the basin of Krateia/Gerede, the "country of Gaezatorix") and the area of the Free Mariandynians as far as the Abant Dağları (the basin of Bolu) were included until 179 B.C. when they fell to Paphlagonia or, in the west, to Bithynia during the war against Pharnaces<sup>24</sup>.

In the 60s of the 2nd century, the process of settling in existing villages as well as the somewhat rarer occurrence of founding new settlements<sup>25</sup>, of which Ekkobriga is a special

<sup>19</sup> Plin. n.h. 6, 9 names the Kappadox as the river forming the border between Galatia and Cappadocia, i.e. the Cappadocian Chamamene and Saravene strategiai, which Pliny admittedly mixed up with the Morimene strategía which borders on Galatia between the Halys and the Salt Lake. This leads to the conclusion that the upper Kappadox is to be identified with the Kanak Çayı which then linked the catchments of the Sorgunözü and the upper Kanak Su (in the area of Alişar) beneath the Kerkenes massif where Pteria lies.

<sup>20</sup> Already in Strobel 1991, 124ff.

<sup>21</sup> As part of the Bithynian war of succession to which the operations against Heracleia Pontica belonged.

<sup>22</sup> So in the battles against Ptolemy II in Lycia during the second Syrian war.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Strobel 1994b.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Strobel 1994a. Erroneous assumptions in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 166, 181, 184, firstly that the Tectosages' area extended southwards including parts of Pisidia in the 1st century B.C., secondly that the entire northern part of Galatia was Tolistobogian and finally that fortifications in southern Paphlagonia can be attributed to the Galatians; Parnassos was naturally a place in Cappadocia (Pol. 24, 14, 8) and north of Çorum there were naturally no Trocmian sites either (in contrast to Mitchell I, 54).

<sup>25</sup> It is characteristic that classical tradition even ascribes the founding of Ancyra to the Galatians of Asia Minor; as Memnon and Apollonius of Aphrodisias (FgrHist 434 F 11, 7; 740 F 14; cf. Strobel 1996, 254f.) show, the Galatians were not only assigned the role of founding this city but also of founding Pessinus and Tavium, which they were even meant to have named after their leaders.

example (see below), must have been completed. The ancient place names<sup>26</sup> recorded for Galatia with its largely Anatolian tradition of names, illustrate the strong continuity of settlement extending over the 1st millennium which stands out in numerous studies today<sup>27</sup>. The tribes of the Tolistobogii, Tectosages and Trocmi had divided up the land given to them between themselves. The most important ethnic unit, namely the Tolistobogii, occupied the large area to the west of the Sangarius bend with the urban centre of Gordium; the Tectosages had the central strip which reached between the gorges on the Halys east of Ancyra to beyond the river (basin of Kırıkkale), and the Trocmi the eastern Galatian area within the Halys bend, concentrating on the old fertile landscapes around the middle and lower Kappadox and its tributaries. The main settlement in the area around the middle Kappadox was Tavium, or Tawinija in Old Anatolian sources, whose shrine to the god Teššop, equivalent to Zeus (Tavianos) in Hellenistic times, was of supraregional importance and included the right of asylum<sup>28</sup>. The colossal bronze statue there was praised by Strabo<sup>29</sup>. This urban settlement which was already important in the Early Bronze Age, which did not have the status of an autonomous polis in pre-Roman times and which therefore only appears in Strabo as an emporium and stronghold (phrourion) of the tribe<sup>30</sup>, was the main settlement of the Trocmi after 274/3 whose territory was organized as the polis of Sebastenoi Trokmoi Taouianoï after 21/0 B.C.

Corresponding to the above-mentioned "fourths" – or *pagus* division – based on bodies of persons, each of the three tribes was divided into four subsections or "great people", at the head of which there was a "fourth ruler", the equivalent of the Greek tetrarch and known as a *regulus* in the Roman world. The three major tribes, twelve tetrarchies in total, did not, in the words of Strabo (12, 5, 1), differ in language or in any other way. In other words they had

<sup>26</sup> Cf. TIByz 4, 1984; more generally in Zgusta 1984; papers in: Hock 1997. Further Celtic toponyms are Petrobrogen (also Ipetrobrogen), a stop on the main road to Ancyra (TIByz 4, 215); the toponym Souliobrogen or Souliobriga derived from Zeus' epithet, Souolibrogenos (RECAM II 191; from the area around Kızılhamam); Rosolodiaco (TIByz4, 219); Acitoriciacum (Tab. Peut. 9, 5); Erigobrogis (V. Theod. Syk. 1, 24f.); Tolastochora (TIByz4, 236) which is maybe derived from a short form of the ethnic name Tolistobogioi; Ueteston (chora Ouētisseōn; ibid. 242) and finally Vindia (Uindia; Ptol. 5, 4, 5; as a road stop, Itin. Ant. 201, 5; 202, 9; ibid. 171), that Mitchell 50, 55 would erroneously like to interpret as the Celtic name of Gordium which would have lost its old name in the 2nd century B.C. However, Gordium appears as a village in Strab. 12, 5, 3, this being the Late Hellenistic and subsequently predominantly Roman settlement which was resettled on the upper-town tell of Gordium after a clear hiatus starting in the year 189 B.C. Vindia, in contrast, is the Celtic name for the plains settlement on the eastern bank of the ancient Sangarius at the crossing; this settlement was possibly founded in the 2nd century as a replacement for Gordium which was lost in 189/8. Another toponym is Chōrion Artikniakon (RECAM 172), derived from the Galatian name Artiknos. He belonged to one of the Tolistobogian aristocratic families and also appears in the list of priests at the temple dedicated to Roma et Augustus at Ancyra. Assumptions of Celtic origins for toponyms are exaggerated in Mitchell 50, and footnote 89.

<sup>27</sup> As only one example, this time from the western border area to Galatia, take the new excavations at Şarhöyük-Dorylaion (A. Muhibbe Darga - T. Sivas, KST 22, 2001, 51-62). For more information see footnote 39.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Strobel-Gerber 2000.

<sup>29</sup> Strab. 12, 5, 2: In Roman times the coins of the town still portrayed the statue modelled on that of Zeus of Olympia (cf. BMC Galatia no. 3.4.6.17; RPC I, p. 548; II p. 235).

<sup>30</sup> Strab. 12, 5, 2.



a continental Celtic dialect as their common language in the 1st century B.C. by the latest. The three peoples and their twelve ethnic subunits formed one federation, the political organization and leading institutions of which are described in detail by Strabo (12, 5, 1). There are no arguments in favour of attributing this structure to the 2nd century B.C. or even to external influences; the old viewpoint must be rejected that the Galatians remained an unsettled nomadic people until the end of the 3rd or even into the 2nd century or were not capable of creating such an order themselves as an unruly barbarian group. Each of the subgroups, which were headed by a tetrarchical clan from which the ruling princes were taken and which intermarried but also fought each other to settle power-political rivalries<sup>31</sup>, was completely autonomous, also in questions of war, alliances and peace; a unified stance or even joint actions on the part of all tetrarchs appear to be the exception rather than the rule. Fundamentally, every tetrarchy can be spoken of as an independent tribal state. Alongside the tetrarch at the head, the hierarchy of subsidiary positions included a "judge", a military commander (*Stratophylax*) as commander in chief of the army or "chief of staff" and two junior commanders as second-in-command. They were all members of the tetrarchs' aristocratic families, which were often related by marriage but also marked by competition and rivalry, as mentioned above. The three major tribes had no level of political organization of their own. This only existed at the level of the Galatian federation of states and consisted of a council of the twelve tetrarchies, a representative assembly of 300 men, i.e. 100 from each group of tribes, corresponding in size to the traditional institution of the Group of One Hundred. The place where they met was the "Drynemeton", the "sacred grove of oak trees", which was the central meeting place and shrine of this federation<sup>32</sup>. The representative council probably met at this central shrine in the same rhythm as the major religious festivals and sacrificial ceremonies in the course of the year and was consulted in cases of murder, manslaughter and wounding. This created a sort of collective judicature which served to prevent blood feuds amongst the clans and tribes and ensured internal peace. Other types of jurisdiction lay with the fourth princes and judges. Only in exceptional cases was joint leadership of the individual tribes or of all Galatians allowed for a limited period, namely in crises which threatened their existence. Attempts to set up a kingdom on this basis failed. It is telling that the reigning Galatian princes could not take on the title of king, even after the collapse of the previously existing order in the wake of the massacre of the tetrarchian aristocracy by Mithradates VI of Pontus in 86 B.C. and that they retained the title of tetrarch to the end of Galatian sovereignty

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the story of Kamma, wife of Sinatos, the most powerful tetrarch alongside Sinorix, the father of the older Deiotarus as told in Plut. mor. 257e-258c (virt. mul. 20); also Plut. mor. 768b-d (amat. 22); Polyain. 8, 39. Sinatos, who was related to Sinorix, was murdered on the orders of the latter. Under pressure from Sinorix, the clan and friends of the murder victim urged Kamma to marry him; however, Kamma killed Sinorix and herself during the wedding ceremony by a poisoned drink.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Schmidt 1958; Reichenberger 1991; Haffner 1995; Birkhan 1997, 750ff. To aid understanding, reference is made to square enclosures which also existed in central Europe and functioned as public and sacred meeting places and also to sites with a similar function, in particular the so-called Picardian or Belgian type of temenos or comparable sites. Cf. Büchsenhützel-Olivier 1989; Birkhan 750ff., esp. 764ff.; Wieland 1999a.b; see also Brunaux 1993 on the oak as a ritual tree.

in 25 B.C. and along with it the traditional position of a "fourth prince" within Celtic society. Only in territories not belonging to the Galatian tribes were they able to attain the title of king. After Pompey's reorganization in 65/4 B.C. there was only one tetrarch at the head of the Tolistobogii (Deiotarus the elder) and Trocmi (Brogitaros). Initially there were still two (Castor Tarkondarios and Domnilaos) at the head of the Tectosages, and then only one. The fact that the individual tetrarchies within the main tribes grew together to form one single tribal state each was a consequence of the profound upheavals in 86 B.C. and this ultimate reorganization. Thanks to his rigorous power politics, Deiotarus the elder eventually managed to unite all three tribal states under his rule and thus to become tetrarch of all Galatians. He was succeeded by the younger Castor and then by Amyntas, Dyitalos's son.

In the area of the Galatian tribal states to the west of the Halys, there were two old urban settlements, Gordium on the one hand, at least until 189, the former Phrygian metropolis and now an Early Hellenistic regional centre, and the important Phrygian town of Ancyra on the other hand, which dominated a small basin. The area settled in Ancyra in both Phrygian and Hellenistic times extended far beyond the citadel in the upper town to the southern slopes of the citadel's rock including the centre of the Roman town and the high terrace of the Ulus<sup>33</sup>. Ancyra very probably did not fall under the rule of the Tectosages' tetrarchs until Pompey's reorganization<sup>34</sup>, then to be elevated to the status of a metropolis after 25/4 and to the main site of the *koinon* of the Galatians as a result of Augustus' organization of the provinces; its city territory now formed the *civitas* of the Tectosages although large parts of Tolistobogian territory also belonged to it insofar as it had not been incorporated in the polis of Pessinus which had now become both the Tolistobogian capital and upholder of its *ethnos* (Galatai or Sebastenoi Tolistobogioi Pessinuntioi). The names of these towns and coins minted in the time of the Roman Empire impressively show that both municipalities identified with the tradition and identity of the original Galatian tribe. Admittedly, neither Ancyra's affiliation with the territory of the Galatian rulers after 65/4 nor its subsequent merging with the *ethnos* of the Tectosages left traces on the internal organization of the town, the older names of the phylae

<sup>33</sup> Important new discoveries on Ancyra in the Early and Middle Iron Ages, Hellenistic and Early Imperial periods have come to light in excavations on the site of the Ulus; cf. I. Temisöy et al. 1996; Metin 1997; Metin-Akalın 1999. Cf. also Makridi 1926; Özgüç 1946; Fıratlı 1959; Dolunay 1968; Bayburtluoğlu 1987. Early and Middle Iron Age pottery reflects the basic tendencies of regionally differentiated development in pottery production marked by the following areas: around the Sangarius and Gordium; Boğazköy, Tavium, Çadır, Alişar; and the region of Kaman-Kalehöyük (cf. esp. studies by H. Genz), all of which started to differ from one another after the end of the Great Hittite Empire in central Anatolia. In the Early Iron Age, Ancyra is obviously better assigned to the central northern pottery province of the basin of Merzifon and eastern Paphlagonia as far as the middle reaches of the Kappadox. It is also characteristic that cremation and burial rites in the Phrygian tumuli of Ancyra (20 tumuli from the 8th century onwards or, after correction of data on Gordium, 9th/8th - 6th centuries) differ from funerary practices at Gordium (Buluç 1979; 1992). The same is true for sculpture at Ancyra in the Early and Mid Phrygian Empire, for which there are no parallels with Gordium but which can be related to sculptures in the Late Hittite States.

<sup>34</sup> In Strab. 12, 5, 2 referred to as a fortress or fortified settlement of the Tectosages, not, however, as a polis.

of which come from Phrygian and Luwian tradition alone<sup>35</sup>. We can rightly assume that Ancyra was already established as an urban community in the Early Hellenistic Age.

The temple state of Pessinus<sup>36</sup> remained independent. Between 189/8 and 168 its territory possibly extended intermittently as far as the Tembris, at the expense of the Tolistobogii, and as far as the River Sangarius which flowed past the old urban area of Gordium to the east. The position of the independent temple state of the priests of Cybele, who first looked for support from the Seleucids and then from Rome and Pergamum, must have been strengthened by the fact that the cult of the Great Mother, or Mater (kybilleia), gained prime importance for the neighbouring Tolistobogii, interpreted appropriately with their own concepts of gods<sup>37</sup>. This adoption and identification, which also involves religious approach, is illustrated by the pottery figurines of the goddess found at Gordium, some of which at least were produced there as well. Their painted torcs document the fact that the goddess had been adopted by Celtic tradition; at the same time the Phrygian image of the goddess had been replaced by a Hellenistic one in Galatian Gordium<sup>38</sup>. We have good reason to believe that members of leading Tolistobogian aristocratic families became priests at Pessinus as early as the 3rd century; indeed these priests were headed by a tetrarchic prince known by the name of Attis between 163 and 156<sup>39</sup>. The fact that the priests of Pessinus welcomed Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C. is not a counterargument as it is wrong to proceed from the assumption of a "national Galatian consciousness" or even of a "national loyalty amongst the Celts". As high

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Bosch 1955; 1967, 141ff.; Mitchell 1977, 77ff.; the inscription in Bosch 1967, 117, states the figure of 12 phylae in the time of Hadrian: names of regions or people: Maruragene (1), Palakene (2), Hiermene (4), [-]mene (7), Menorizeites (3; derived from Men); in honour of urban self-government: Hiera Boulaia (9); named after a deity: Zeus Taenos (12; Zeus' special invocation, not the same as Zeus Taouianos/Tavianus; it cannot be derived from the Old Anatolian stem of the name Taw-, (Tawinija, Taouia, Taouion, Tavium, Tavia, Tabia, ethnic name Taouioi) as erroneously assumed in Kruse, RE IV A 2, 1932, 2007; Bosch 1967, 275); after a place of worship: Dios Trapezōn (5); new names for existing phylae (this possibility was not discussed by Bosch) or perhaps an increase in the original number of phylae in the Imperial Age: Sebasteia (6), Claudia Athenaia (8), Nerva (10), Nea Olympia (11; Hadrian). There is, however, much to be said against this last option due to the certain allocation of the number 12 to the phylae of Zeus Taenos. The number of phylae must have been fixed in early Augustan times at the latest.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Strobel, DNP 9, 2000, 658-660. The widespread assumption that calling the priests of Cybele "Galloi" goes back to the Celts of Asia Minor is ill-conceived (cf. Waser-Ruge-Cumont, RE 7, 1, 1912, 674-682 on the Phrygian tradition of the name Gallos; Birkhan 147 is also erroneous when he even turns Pessinus into the main shrine of the Galatians as early as the 3rd century B.C.). The symbol of the cock on the gravestones of priests also has a completely different symbolic backdrop.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. McCone 1990, 108ff., 129ff.; Birkhan 513ff on the Celtic notion of the great, nameless mother goddess figure, the great godly power manifested in nature which is, at the same time, the deity of the country and which takes on form in epiphany in a series of images of female gods. The Phrygian figure of Cybele and the orgiastic cult associated with her clearly stand out against the Hittite-Hurrian-Anatolian Kubaba tradition (cf. Haas 1994); she cannot therefore be traced back to an Old Anatolian mother goddess figure as she must be anchored in the substratum of Indo-European notions of gods.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Roller 1991 on Hellenization; more generally in Romano 1995; Naumann 1983. The most recent excavations have revealed the workshop complex of an artist who obviously originated from western Asia Minor and who produced and painted terracotta figurines. This workshop was abandoned in 189 B.C.

<sup>39</sup> Welles 1934, 55-61.



priest in Pessinus, Attis, the brother of the Tolistobogian tetrarch Aioiorix, only felt under obligation to his temple state and its interests and to his own power.

The groups of Celts took over a region which included a large number of villages and other places<sup>40</sup> alongside the urban settlements mentioned above. Its agricultural structures were both prosperous and varied<sup>41</sup>. The traffic routes to and from the economic centres of Gordium, Ancyra and Tavium, which continued to be improved in Persian times, helped to create a well-linked central area in inland Anatolia which was of great economic importance thanks to its resources, communication network and agricultural produce. In addition, the northernmost parts of the tribes' new territories in particular were comparable with the agricultural conditions and structures of the areas the migrating groups of Celts had originally come from in central Europe and along the Danube, as reflected in Alpine pastures in the mountainous regions of northern Galatia, for example<sup>42</sup>. This similarity is also true of large parts of the rest of Galatia, with the exception of the extreme southern treeless areas.

<sup>40</sup> As the report in Hdt. 1, 76, 1-2 on Croesus' conquest of Pteria in 547/6 B.C. and the capture of the population of this town and others in the vicinity belonging to the (White) Syrians or Cappadocians was frequently taken to refer to Iron Age Boğazköy (even in Bossert 2000, who unfortunately did not take J. Seeher's crucial findings on Büyükkaya into account and whose chronology is completely outdated), it was quite often assumed that large areas ceased to be widely populated after 546. The older chronology of pottery based on this assumption which, using circular reasoning, was enlisted in turn to date new sites, has to be revised. So-called Late Phrygian pottery extended into the Hellenistic Age, Hellenistic pottery evolving from it without a break judging by the findings, particularly at Gordium and Tavium. So-called Middle Phrygian pottery, dated after the destruction level of Gordium, started to appear just before 800 B.C. (around 835-800), based on the data now obtained for the end of the Old Phrygian citadel, and not only in 700 or even as late as 674/3 (as in Bossert 2000); in addition, contrary to Bossert and P. Neve before her, Boğazköy was not destroyed in the time of the Cimmerians. Continual settlement - albeit with some noticeable changes in the significance of the places - up to the beginning of the Hellenistic Age, is demonstrated by, amongst others, Ancyra, Bolu, Gordium, Polatlı-tell, Şeyhali, Şabanözü, Calıköy, the Çanakçı settlement, the Yenikaya settlement, Balıkuyumcu, Malıköy-Malaveren Höyük, Yalıncaç, Karaoğlu, Topaklı/Andros (Andron), Yüzükbaşı (in Axylos; on the southern limits of the Tolistobogii's territory), Çalış, Culluk, Türkhüyük, Faraşlı-Arılıköz Hüyük, Tavium and numerous sites in the vicinity, Eskiypar, Alaca-Hüyük, Cengelstepe, Çalatlı, Çadır-Hüyük, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Aşılar, and the characteristic hilltop settlement of Büyükyazılı where the southern Ancyra-Tavium road descends into the broad valley of the River Delice. Cf. also the relevant survey reports in AST; also Temisoy-Lumsden 1999; on the tradition of Anatolian place names TIByz 4, 1984; RECAM Index. Boğazköy was settled in the urban areas of Phrygian times up to Early Hellenistic and Galatian times. Contrary to the dating of the excavator (Kozay 1938; 1941; cf. also Kozay-Akok 1957), the centre of power for southern Pontic Cappadocia in Persian times, the fortified palace of Pazarlı, was built after Cyrus' reign and not in the 6th century: the buildings belong to the early 5th century and their function as residences in periods I and II presumably ended in the 4th century (conflicts in Diadochic times?); period III, in which the civil settlement also extended to the plot within the fortress, continued into Hellenistic times as testified by the pottery. The site was refortified in the Byzantine Age. It is worth noting that we have Phrygian graffiti on the site.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Strobel 1996, 79ff., 94ff.; *ibid.* on the geographical and ecological prerequisites. Mitchell too (Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 188ff.) now proceeds from Galatia having an economy in its own right and from the continued existence of economic structures which were already in place, complemented by Darbyshire's reference to his studies on iron agricultural implements from Hellenistic-Galatian Gordium. To what extent the latter include innovations from a central European context will require further analysis for clarification.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. also Meniel 2001.

The Anatolian, Phrygian-Luwian population originally resident in the area was undoubtedly many times larger than the groups of Celts arriving to conquer and settle land. On crossing into Asia Minor they perhaps totalled a maximum of 30,000, although armed warriors made up a disproportionate number of them<sup>43</sup>. In addition, it must be assumed that there was strong demographic imbalance amongst the conquering groups of Celts, as for other migrating groups, with their characteristically high proportion of arm-bearing men. Equally it must be assumed that they suffered considerable losses in fighting up to 268 B.C. and finally were also faced with warriors leaving to become mercenaries in the Hellenistic armies. These factors had to be compensated for, particularly by recourse to the local population<sup>44</sup>, and surely including, amongst others, kidnapping and attachment to the campaigning military forces; added to this, the attractiveness of integration into and accepted self-identification with the socially and militarily dominant group distinguished by its high prestige. As with comparable migrating communities, it can be assumed that there was a strong tendency towards integrating people to strengthen the group's own potential for fighting and to increase the number of people in general. During the process of territorialization, considerable numbers of women in particular undoubtedly joined the groups of Celts, or more precisely the clans, in various states of marriage<sup>45</sup> and with varying legal status. At this point it is appropriate to point out the legal acknowledgement of polygamy and concubinage which can be deduced from Old Irish law despite it being edited in the Christian era. The first wife could only be of the same rank and status; the children of further wives were, however, treated the same as those from the first marriage in the eyes of the law. The principle held that children issuing from a relationship with an unfree women or a concubine belonged to the man on principle and were ranked as his offspring. It was not uncommon to give a daughter into unfree status and so to a high-ranking man with prestige to create family ties and to ensure the rise in social status of children from this relationship.

On the other hand, whole groups of the population could be incorporated in the social structure, i.e. in the family organizations of the now governing Celtic society, as clients<sup>46</sup> at various levels of dependency, as dependents, or with the status of "foreigners". At this point it is necessary to very briefly underline the important basic social elements for processes of ethnogenesis which can be identified as general Celtic phenomena<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Liv. 38, 16, 2.9; cf. Strobel 1996, 237, 246. There is no proof that any heavy afflux of Celts from the Balkans arrived in the area after the crossing of the group of Tectosages although individual Celtic mercenaries in the employ of the Hellenistic rulers may have settled in Galatia in the course of time. Graves in the lower town of Hattuša most probably furnish proof of this for mercenaries very probably fighting in the armies of Mithradates VI of Pontus (see below).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. also Markale 1975, 258, for example; or Wenskus 1961, 454ff., 492f. on the phenomenon of a lack of people in migrating military followings or in phases of conquering land.

<sup>45</sup> In insular Celtic law there were nine forms of marriage, with corresponding parallels in an Indo-Aryan context; cf., for example, Birkhan 1997, 1029ff.

<sup>46</sup> Thus Old Irish law recognizes "seven levels of submission", or levels of clients' dependence.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Birkhan 1997, 986ff.; 1029ff. Numerous legal technical terms and social concepts can be seen as general Celtic phenomena which were taken over more than once in the Germanic sphere. Reconstructions of the main outlines of Celtic societies can be rightly obtained from Old Irish tradition and ancient Irish legal texts (texts in:

The society of Celtic peoples and warriors bands in the La Tène culture was founded on the categories of prestige and honour and on heroic pathos as well as on property as a basis for prestige or as a requirement for fulfilling one's social role. Wealth served to gain social and political power; it was a means to demonstrate, preserve and gain prestige and rank, a means to create a body of followers. At the same time, however, the fundamental principle also held that "a man is better than his birth", which formed the basis of upward social mobility. Accomplishments, also in the form of material gain, and above all proving one's worth in battle, brought about social advancement. The tribe and army (a *gens* in arms) appeared as one unit. Social structure saw a basic division into "good-freemen", Old Irish *so-aire* or *soír*, and "bad-freemen", Old Irish *doír*. At the head of the first group was the ruling aristocracy. Alongside the different levels of aristocracy and the druids, when in the tribe, the upper classes comprised "people with skills", like special craftsmen, poets, visionaries, doctors and those with legal training. The group of freemen included the noblemen (aristocracy), landowning farmers and their wards. For women there were two basic categories: free and unfree women.

The highest level of "noblemen" below the level of prince or king was taken by the leaders of the "people" (*tud* or Old Irish *tuath*) and the "heroes", elite aristocratic warriors, not to be mixed up with the hired warriors or mercenaries who counted amongst the lowest category of "noblemen". The noblemen also included the chieftains of the clans in a proper sense, i. e. groups based on actual kinship (Old Irish *derbfine*). The basis for the aristocrats' station was property and honour; their social prestige was reflected in their following, their dependent clients and in their tenants. The personal following of the prince or aristocratic leader of followers was made up of freemen bound to loyalty, including noblemen and heroes, as well as dependent followers, also including young aristocratic warriors, and the dependent group of clients bound as political and military vassals, including dependent tenants, clients and serfs. Beneath the aristocracy there were the free farmers who owned land and livestock and who were divided into several groups with differing status depending on the quality of their land and possessions and the role arising from that concerning conduct and duties; rich farmers were close to the aristocracy in the social pyramid; if they invested their accumulated wealth in the acquisition of clients (letting land and livestock for farming), the door was open to social advancement.

The core of the social fabric was formed by the family of the head of the generations, his wives and under-age children (Old Irish *gelfine*). As paterfamilias he had authority over the life of his wife/wives and children. The clan as a genuine kinship group (Old Irish *derbfine*) covered four generations: the representative of the active generation, his children and grandchildren, his father, his grandfather, his brothers and paternal uncles as well as their

Corpus Iuris Hibernici I-VI; Ancient Laws of Ireland, 6 volumes, Dublin 1856-1901; Críth Gablach, ed. D. A. Binchy, Dublin 1979), naturally heeding the necessary degree of critical analysis of the origins, transmission and possible changes by Christian editors. For more on these difficulties, cf. Birkhan 1997, 478ff.; Binchy 1943; Dillon 1947, 1948; Kelly 1988; Birkhan 1997, 463ff., esp. 474ff.; 955ff.; 986ff.; also McCone 1990; Mac Cana 1991a,b; Jackson 1964, is correct in its general tendency. Cf. on the following esp. McLeod 1987; Kelly 1988; Joyce 1913, I 155ff.; 184ff.; II 3ff.; MacNeill 1924; also Markale 1975, 30ff.; more generally in Binchy 1943; 1983; Dillon 1947, 1954; Kelly 1992; cf. Birkhan 1997, 1022ff. refuting the theory of Celtic matriarchy.



children. The clan held its land jointly although each free member of the clan owned his own individual part or held legal title to it. Problems occurred when the father or elder brother held the land and "there was no more room", i.e. it was not realistically possible to set up a farm which would guarantee the upkeep of the family. This potentially gave rise to migrating communities and mercenaries. The clan was headed by the clan elder while the kinship group, the *populus*, based on actual kinship and descent from common ancestors, was headed by the leading aristocratic clan which possessed the right of nobles based on prestige and the tradition of descent.

Every common man had legal title to land to earn his living as a farmer and a hereditary title to the available land owned by the clan; if it was insufficient, he had to lease land and, if needs be, livestock. Freeman leased common or private land. Freeman without property could drop into the group of dependent vassals, also as dependent armed vassals, or into the group of clients. If a freeman fell short of the minimum amount of property required to realize his social role, this led to a loss in full status as a freeman. Alongside land acquired as personal property, the aristocracy which governed the clan or a larger ethnic complex held part of the tribal lands under right of usufruct for life or for the duration of their rule; the remainder was occupied by the freemen. The main part of the tribe's territory was not private land; instead it was entrusted to the clans for the use of their free relatives for an unlimited period. What remained for common use was barren land, woodland, mountain pastures, highlands, etc. All freemen had a right to use common pasture land and full rights as members of the tribe. In order to use tribal lands, the share and common duties had to be fulfilled and taxes paid to the relevant holder in the hierarchy of rights of nobles.

Debts led to decline into dependence in the group of bad-freemen, Old Irish *doírchél*, unfree fellow, or dependent clients. Bad-freemen were the dependent farmers, liable to pay rent, and foreigners; the last-but-one level consisted of unfree farm labourers and the low dependents who farmed the aristocracy's land and were not allowed to leave it. Finally, the lowest level in the social pyramid was taken by the slaves, the main sources of which were prisoners of war and the slave trade. The Galatians themselves acted as slave traders well into Late Antiquity. The slaves with the ethnic name "Galates", as found in Greek deeds of release, have Anatolian or Greek names, whereby the latter may be due to their Greek origins or may have been given to them on being traded as slaves. However that may be, there are no ethnic Galatians amongst them, who could have also been European Celts anyway. As we have good reason to believe, the Galatian leaders owed their slave resources to war booty and, first and foremost, to the numerous unfree men amongst the resident population which they obtained possession of. The dependent tribal fellow or bad-freeman, just above the status of a slave, had no right to tribal land as a member of the tribe and only had legal status to a limited degree but he did have the right to stay on tribal land and on the land he was working on. People who did not belong to the tribal community were foreigners; they had no right to stay on tribal territory although this right could be granted to them by permission of the one in power in the *tud* or *tuath*. Whether individuals or groups, foreigners could be allocated land for farming for a specific payment of taxes. Foreigners to the tribe who were bound to work in exchange for the right to remain there had the same status as dependents. The adoption of a foreigner by a

family or a clan was always possible with the consent of the rest of the group. In this manner it was also possible for kinships or ethnic groups to adopt complete family organizations or even smaller tribes.

Without a doubt the specific structure of the clans and their legal system in the strict hierarchy of Celtic tribal society and their readiness to integrate and adopt foreign peoples were instrumental in integrating the much greater numbers of an indigenous population within the federation of tribes and clans. The lower social strata of the Celtic and Anatolian population must have quickly developed into a relatively homogeneous amalgam. These aspects are not only true of the Galatians of Asia Minor; they are the basic factors behind the phenomenon known as "Celtic expansion" and can even be considered as fundamental in the formation of "La Tène Keltentum". Only after the conquest and settlement of land by migrating groups in central Anatolia, which was no longer questioned after 268, and due to the resulting processes of superimposition on and integration of the indigenous population, did a process of ethnogenesis and mutual acculturation give rise to the historical Galatians tribes, and that within a mere three generations<sup>48</sup>. Like the tribes and fourths on the higher level of political and social organisation, the *populi*, or clans, only took on their historical shape in the territorialization of the migrating community and the associated processes of ethnogenesis and culture. The groups of Celts at the core on the higher level of political and social organisation which formed the governing classes and states left their mark on language, politico-social order and ethnic identity while the Luwian or Phrygian-Anatolian population influenced everyday life, from housing and building styles to kitchenware and Hellenistic-Anatolian-type graves. Indeed, the development of pottery in Hellenistic to Augustan times is characterized by continuity with the pre-Hellenistic period, as illustrated particularly by evidence found at Gordium<sup>49</sup> and Tavium (see below); changes concern the adoption of and parallel developments in typology but not in the potter's technique. The system of social and religious values of the Celtic aristocracy and heroic tradition was maintained, at least until the first half of the 2nd century B.C., as shown by the elite Tolistobogian warriors fighting naked on Mount Olympus in 189 and by the ritual sacrifice of prisoners in the fight for freedom and survival against Pergamum in 168/66 B.C. At Gordium there was a place of sacrifice for humans and animals in Celtic tradition which predates 189 (see below). There is also evidence of the cult of headhunting which was generally widespread amongst the Celts.

It is highly likely that the specific social and common law structures of the conquering Celtic newcomers changed possessory interests in land. They did not, however, challenge the existing village communities but just integrated them in their own bands. Little can have changed in the lifestyles of the local village population in Galatian times, even if their legal status declined, insofar as they were not already dependent. The continuity in pre-Galatian

<sup>48</sup> See above; Strobel 1991; more generally also in Strobel 1998; Heckmann 1992, 162ff. Frerichs 1981. Here ethnogenesis does not refer to the primary shaping of an *ethnos*, but to the gradual re-formation which tribes or parts of them go through on migration and in subsequent processes of territorialization. In these complex processes, convergence builds on an identity-bearing tradition and the creation of a ruling power and class, both emanating from the prestigious group.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Henrickson 1993, 130ff., esp. 149ff.; 1994.

names of regions and smaller areas<sup>50</sup> and place names, as mentioned above, illustrates the continuity of the resident population. Their elites had presumably already been weakened by the end of Achaemenid rule and in the conflicts and changes in Diadochic times; when the Galatians were settled there by Nicomedes I, some of them would have fled to surrounding areas or to Ancyra while others, whose position was more strongly anchored in religion and rites, could no doubt assert themselves well in the emerging Galatian society.

A particularly striking example for the continuity of the resident population and, at the same time, for the intentional spiritual standardization in the process of ethnogenesis of the historical Galatians, which we can call the Galatization of central Anatolia and its population by the small, conquering, politico-social dominant group of Celts, is found in the inscriptions in and around the shrine to Zeus Bussurigos, "Zeus with the royal mouth", found north-west of Kalecik, the ancient village of Malos, before the Ankara-Ekkobriga-Tavium road crosses the Baykuşbeli pass<sup>51</sup>. Aurelius Sentamus, who had a Celtic name and came from the village Dallapoze, erected two monuments in 218 A.D.; he appears on the first as a worshipper of Zeus Bussurigos and on the second, erected together with his mother Akka and his grandson Sentamus, as the archigallos of the Cybele, who was evidently also worshiped at this shrine alongside Zeus Bussurigos<sup>52</sup>. Aurelius Helius, son of Domnus, who also had a Celtic name, came from the village of the Klössamenoi; he was Neokoros of Zeus Bussurigos, erected a monument to the god during his lifetime for votive purposes and as a memorial<sup>53</sup>. Aurelius and Philotas, son of Stateilius, from the village of Ikotarion, worshipper and servant of Zeus Bussurigos erected a funeral stele during his lifetime in 227 A.D.<sup>54</sup> There is no direct mention of the god on the memorial of his worshipper Aurelius Askepiades, son of Asklepius, from the village of Malos in the district of Kalmizene erected in 251<sup>55</sup>. Kalecik (Malos) is the location of Katomarus's memorial which he erected in 165 A.D. in memory of his wife Octaviane and his daughter Domne; father and daughter both have names in the Celtic tradition.

Legionaries of Galatian origin also took the cult of Zeus Bussurigos to Apulum in Dacia (*Iupiter Optimus Maximus Sol Bussurigius*). A further Galatian invocation of Zeus, unifying the aspects of the god of the heavens, mountains and weather and behind which,

<sup>50</sup> Lagantine, Mnezine, Kalmizene, Konkarzitiakōton.

<sup>51</sup> RECAM 201-206. Also the site of boundary stones for a shrine to Archangel Michael, presumably the cult successor of Zeus Bussurigos, from Justinian times (RECAM 207-208), which name the village of Diakimelion in the district of Konkarzitiakoton which was separated from the Kalmizene by the pass. On this invocation of Zeus, cf. H. Schwabl, RE X A, 1972, 291f., also 288, 293, 339, 358; Birkhan 147, 662, who would like to interpret him as god of law corresponding to the god Lugus. Birkhan erroneously gives Zeus Bennis as another Celtic invocation which was, however, Phrygian. For more on the Zeus cult in Galatia, see also Schwabl, RE Suppl. 15, 1978, 1159ff., 1474. The cults of Zeus Narenos and Sarnendenos belong in a northern Phrygian context which is also present in north-western Galatia.

<sup>52</sup> RECAM 201, 206.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. 203.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. 204.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. 205. Presumably also belonging to this series ibid. 209A (217 A.D.).



naturally, related older Anatolian cults<sup>56</sup> are to be found (Teššop), is Zeus Souālibrogenos<sup>57</sup>, presumably another Zeus Bussumarus (German "Großmund", "large mouth"), which we also find proof of in Apulum<sup>58</sup>. Contrary to Birkhan, for example, I do not believe that these invocations should be understood as attributes of gods, but as derivations from Galatian peoples and their names, i.e. from the Boussourigioi and Boussoumaroi. Reference has already been made to the Galatians' adopting the worship of Cybele and also the cult of the great mountain and weather god of Tawinija/Tavium known as Zeus Tavianos; further important cults in this town were Athena, Apollo, Asclepius, Hygieia and finally Tyche of Tavium, the goddess of the town. Another element in the religious aspect<sup>59</sup> of the process of acculturation was mentioned above in connection with the story of Kamma. The wife of the tetrarch was priestess of Artemis, to be understood as a Hellenized version of the Old Anatolian Kubaba; the wedding ceremony was performed with a goblet full of milk and honey in front of the altar in the temple of the goddess where Kamma had retreated after her husband had been murdered (Plut. mor. 258a-c). This was a fully Hellenized cult in its form and buildings as practised by the members of the tetrarchic aristocracy in the second half of the 2nd century B.C. It is, however, very probable that the Celts interpreted this goddess as the Minervan aspect of the great mother goddess of fertility and power. Another instance of the tetrarchic aristocracy's adopting Anatolian forms of religion is clearly illustrated in Augustus' appointment of Dyteutus, son of Adiatrix, as high priest and regent of the temple state of Ma in Pontic Comana, which implies that there must have been some relationship to the cult there. Known outside the region as well, the shrine of Men als Theos Ouindieinos was located at the Celtic-Galatian village on the east bank of the Sangarius opposite ancient Gordium<sup>60</sup>, with a further shrine to the god Men at the old settlement of Andros (Andron), modern-day Topaklı<sup>61</sup>, on the eastern limits of Tolistobogian territory. We can see that the Celtic groups, presumably with the Galatian upper classes setting an example, rapidly adopted the cults which already existed in central Anatolia, although their own notions of gods were surely transferred as well. Thus it was not connected with loss of identity in any way. The naming process which we can reconstruct is reflected in the equality with Greek deities as part of a profound process of Hellenization; only epithets have specific Celtic-Galatian references. Just like in architecture, traditional names and pottery, this documents that the Galatization of central Anatolia also implied more intensive Hellenization and that the Galatian upper classes were an important

<sup>56</sup> Particularly clear in the link between the cults of Zeus Bussurigos and Cybele.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. 191 (157 A.D.); epithet derived from toponym.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Popa-Berciu 1978. Zeus Tavianos was also brought by soldiers or military colonists to Apulum.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Mitchell 1993, 47ff.; II 18ff. on this problem (admittedly erroneous in assuming there to be an important cult centre for Zeus Tavianos at Ancyra (see footnote 34 above) and in interpreting Artemis in the Kamma episode as a Hellenized form of Cybele); more generally in Birkhan 1997, 431ff.; Brunaux 2000; Meniel 1992, 2001; Brunaux-Meniel 1997; Jufer-Luginbühl 2001.

<sup>60</sup> Votive inscription near Konya set up by a citizen of Hadrianopolis (Asia); JRS 14, 1924, no. 1; see footnote 25 above on Vindia.

<sup>61</sup> Votive inscription for Men Andrōnēnos (RECAM 230) set up by Tropos and Bella, the latter a Celtic name. For information on the village see TIByz 4, 1984, 236.

driving force in this process.

In urban settlements in the 3rd to early 2nd centuries, it is to be expected that different linguistic groups lived next to each other, as documented by graffiti at Gordium<sup>62</sup> for the period before 189 B.C. At the same time, the Phrygian alphabet was replaced by the Greek one in the first half of the 3rd century and the Greek alphabet and language became the only upholder of the written word. Only Greek was a written and cultural language. The graffiti at Gordium includes Phrygian-Anatolian names alongside typical Greek names, which were evidently increasing in frequency (including the names of artists and craftsmen) and Celtic names, including the name Kantuix, testifying to an inadequate mastery of Greek grammar<sup>63</sup>. This reflects the ethnic make-up of the urban population, indicating at the same time that there was no uniform tendency to take over the tradition of names, i.e. Celtic, from other cultures. In the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. the leading aristocratic Galatians clans vacillated between Celtic (e.g. Dyitalos, Deiotarus, Brogitarus, Brigatus Adiatorix, Ateporix, Albiorix, Artiknos, Gaizatodiasstes, Adobogiona in the last generations), Greek-Macedonian (e.g. Amyntas, Seleucus, Aristocles, Diognetos, Menemachus, Metrodorus) and Anatolian names (e.g. Kamma; Pylaemenes as a dynastic name taken over from Paphlygonia)<sup>64</sup> characterized by repeated alternation from generation to the next in some cases. In the 1st century A.D. members of this class changed over to Latin names, as illustrated by the list of priests at the temple dedicated to Roma et Augustus at Ancyra<sup>65</sup>. Another characteristic example is that of Tiberius Claudius Heras and his son Tiberius Claudius Deiotarus, who were 9th and 10th on the list of priests in the ten-strong body of priests in Pessinus or 4th and 5th in terms of priests of Galatian lineage<sup>66</sup> in the late 1st century B.C. The use of Celtic names amongst the general population can be traced until well into the 4th century A.D.<sup>67</sup>. As Strabo testifies (12, 5, 1), Celtic<sup>68</sup> was used all over Galatian territory as a unifying characteristic by the 1st century B.C.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Roller 1987 for material published so far. The Greek alphabet and termini also appear on objects made out of bone and stone.

<sup>63</sup> Roller, *ibid.* no. 56.

<sup>64</sup> Galatian mercenary leaders in Seleucid armies already had Greek or Attic-Ionic names in the late 3rd century (Lysimachos Pol. 5, 79, 11; Apatourios Pol. 4, 48, 8f.).

<sup>65</sup> Bosch 1967, no. 51

<sup>66</sup> IGRR III 225.230 = OGIS 540.541.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. RECAM, Index; SEG 32, 1982, 1663; Stähelin 1907, 109ff.; Weißgerber 1931; Bosch 1952/53; Schmidt 1957; Dressler 1967 (also K. H. Schmidt, IF 75, 1970, 276-280); Zgusta 1964, 1970; Evans 1967; Strubbe 1978; Masson 1982, 1986; Schmidt 1994; Hock 1997. The literature given here naturally also includes Celtic names in Asia Minor belonging to people of Celtic origins but not of Galatian descent. Take a characteristic example in RECAM 214 with the change in the way names were given: Klodia, daughter of Bitognatos, who erected a memorial for her husband, Valerios, and son, Poupoulos, a corrupt form of Publius.

<sup>68</sup> While New Phrygian inscriptions are clearly missing in Galatian tribal territories to the west of the Halys (cf. Waelkens 1977), a transitional bilingual Phrygian-Galatian zone is discernible at the southern limits of Galatia; cf. an inscription combined with a New Phrygian formulaic text by Bodoris (or Bodorix) from Sinanlı, to the north of Veteston/Vetisso (MAMA VII 214) in the southern area of the Tolistobogii, an area which did not belong to Proseilemmene (in contrast to Mitchell 1993, 50). Yaraşlı (cf. Summers 1993) was not part of the Galatian tribal territories, as posited by Mitchell, but of the Proseilemmene, which was not annexed to the urban territory of Ancyra until Roman times.

at the latest, was the mother tongue of broad swathes of the population until the mid-6th century A.D. and the language still used in Late Antiquity alongside the generally widespread language of Greek<sup>69</sup>. We can assume that the Celtic-Galatian upper classes in the 3rd - 2nd centuries B.C. were bilingual or, more accurately, trilingual, using their Celtic mother tongue, then Greek as a written language and on the international stage and finally Phrygian or Luwian in the Cappadocian part in order to communicate with the large resident population, which in turn was completing the transition to Celtic as the dominant language. From the 1st century B.C. onwards, Greek appeared to have established itself as a broad-based second language alongside Galatian and other local languages still in existence. The long-lasting effective prevalence of language and ethnic identity can be seen as a crucial factor in the process of acculturation and ethnogenesis in which the historical appearance of the Galatian tribes of Asia Minor was formed.

The question of burial rites is particularly significant for an overall picture of the Galatians. Unfortunately, no necropolis has been systematically studied, apart from the Galatian-period cemetery on the site of the main temple and the lower town of Hattuša. Despite that, numerous observations do allow judgement to be passed. For example, in the necropolises of Tavium, burial in rock tombs was continued; as at Boğazköy<sup>70</sup>, in the whole of Trocmian eastern Galatia there are stone cist graves and pithos burials as well as earthenware coffins. To judge from the stone circles around them, the stone cist graves were partly covered with earth to form small tumuli; admittedly stone cist graves, some made out of spolia, reappeared in Late Roman and Byzantine times, occasionally even with stone circles around and small tumuli above them. The same picture can be observed for numerous illegal diggings in Galatian territories to the west of the Halys.

The acculturation of upper class Galatians to contemporary Hellenistic culture in terms of their representative self-portrayals and lifestyle is vividly documented in the extravagant architecture of their graves. The burial chambers were constructed of very carefully worked ashlar blocks with barrel vaulting, complicated corbel vaulting or gabled roofs made out of large stone slabs. Alongside the ceremonial passageway, or dromos, and main chamber, they could have an antechamber. The dead were buried in wooden coffins, rectangular terracotta coffins (larnakes) and sarcophaguses. At least in front of two of the Galatian tumuli in which princes were buried, a terrace was constructed for the cult of the dead, namely tumulus B at Karalar with the tomb of the younger Deiotarus, son and co-regent of Deiotarus I<sup>71</sup>, and the large Danacı tumulus near Tavium located on a high spur which dominates the surrounding countryside. In one of the numerous illegal diggings at the Danacı tumulus, a large marble sculpture of a lion was recovered on the prominent west side of the site in 1978, which, given its stance and type, would appear to be one of a pair, giving credence, in turn, to the reports of several villagers that there was a second sculpture which had been buried once again. The lions obviously flanked a public terrace. Marble blocks and architectural features around the

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Strobel 1996, 139ff.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Kühne 1969.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Arık 1934, 123ff. Alongside an epitaph, marble fragments from a trophy and a lion were found.



monument had already been carried off to surrounding villages. Alongside the four tumuli at Karalar<sup>72</sup>, the only others to have been academically investigated are a small tumulus from the 3rd century B.C. at Gordium with a stone cist and a wooden coffin originally painted red, and tumulus O, at Gordium's western necropolis<sup>73</sup>. The Yalacık tumulus was robbed in ancient times and reused in Late Antiquity<sup>74</sup>; in the environs of the residential stronghold near Karahisar, there is a second burial mound at Yukarı Bağdere which has not yet been studied. The two tumuli predating 180 B.C. at Bolu-Karacasu<sup>75</sup> fell prey to a case of "legal grave robbery"; one of them had a sarcophagus on an andesite platform covered with a burial mound. At least one more tumulus, as yet uninvestigated but seen by the author in 1996, belongs to the necropolis. The burial mounds of Bolu and Karalar illustrate the continued existence of Celtic chieftain burials with weapons as grave goods. The northern part of Tavium is surrounded by nine tumuli, obviously from various periods; in addition there are two largely destroyed tumuli in the south-west and at least four tumuli at Gündoğdu, including the one at Danacı, on the old main road leading westwards. All of these tumuli were robbed in ancient and more recent times. Shards of burnished pottery and glass vessels were found in the materials removed during the robbery of a tumulus north of Tavium with a stone chamber which was covered with oblong stone blocks. It could date back to the 1st century B.C. but just as likely to Early Imperial times. A large tumulus between the Ayaş-Beypazarı road and the İlhan Çayı dates back to the 1st century A.D. and can probably be assigned to a prominent member of the tetrarchic aristocracy. Further Galatian-period tumuli with notable stone architecture near tetrarchic residences can be found near Faraşlı/Ekkobriga and Çanakçı<sup>76</sup>; due to their location near residential strongholds, the burial mounds at Sirkeli (2), Oğulbey/Gorbeus (3), Odunboğazı (2) and Podanala-Kerkenes Dağı<sup>77</sup> are directly related to them. Evidence from Bolu proves unequivocally that the higher echelons of Galatian society had already adopted grave forms and architecture from their Hellenistic surroundings before 180 B.C. and provided their graves with many luxury goods. At least four generations of ruling tetrarchs from the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. appear to be buried in the graves at Karalar, including Sinorix, the father of Deiotarus, Deiotarus himself and his son, the ones we know by name.

<sup>72</sup> Karalar A-C, Kazan-Cimşit I; Cimşit II (unknown date) and a small tumulus to the east of Karalar. At least two other tumuli were destroyed prior to scientific investigation.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. AJA 59, 1955, 16f.; see Temisoy 2000 for most recent information on tumulus O. In the Gordium area at least four tumuli date from Hellenistic times, including a tumulus on the dominant ridge of the "white cliffs" to the north of Yassihüyük, at the foot of which carefully cut large stone blocks indicate the use of costly grave architecture.

<sup>74</sup> Mermerci-Yağcı 1990; the tumulus near Iğdır in the Sangarius valley mentioned in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 178 is already in Phrygia Epictetus.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Strobel 1994a, 41ff., esp. 43.

<sup>76</sup> Tumulus with robber's hole and exposed stone architecture on the saddle rising up to the stronghold. A second tumulus of unknown age lies slightly further away to the west.

<sup>77</sup> There are at least two larger and four smaller burial mounds on the site of the mountain town of Pteria; further burial mounds from Hellenistic times are very probably to be found amongst the 100 plus mounds in the vicinity of Pteria.

Four hoards of savings with tetradrachms and a small hoard of gold coins<sup>78</sup> hail from pre-189 B.C. Galatian Gordium. A considerable number of the silver coins in hoard III have deep notches cut into them to check the silver content of the coins. This habit was typical for Celtic groups in the lower Danubian region in particular with the advent of a monetary economy. The same method of checking was used on parts of the large hoard V, namely some of the Antiochus III coins. Hoard III must essentially have been hidden in the 70s of the 3rd century; three coins were added in the third quarter of the 3rd century. Most of the coins in hoard IV show few traces of having been in circulation and have no such notches; the hoard must have been put together shortly after 281 and then hidden. The composition of hoard V obviously reflects payments for mercenaries and subsidies as well as diplomatic gifts of friendship, and perhaps also booty which the Tolistobogii had acquired after 278. The hoard was probably completed after the re-establishment of Seleucid power in western Asia Minor by Antiochus III in 212 B.C. Hoard I has a similar composition with 144 tetradrachms; it was hidden around 210 B.C. Hoard VII originally had six gold coins, three gold staters dating from between 320 and 290 and three Seleucus III octodrachms, and very probably documents the money which Byzantium, on the one hand, paid with the help of Herakleia to make the Galatians leave in 278 and the payments of Seleucus III, on the other, for his unsuccessful campaign against Attalus I. of Pergamum. Parallels to the Gordian coin hoards are provided by the large hoard of coins from the Hellenistic-Roman plains settlement below the Hellenistic fortification on the upper-town tell of the Hittite town of Zippalanda (Kuşaklı Hüyük near Sorgun)<sup>79</sup>.

Gordium hoard I, coins no.49-50: These unused coins and also coin no. 35 of hoard V deserve particular attention; they are local imitations, observed dies of which are by all means evocative of initial developments in Celtic coinage patterned on the types of Philip II and Alexander in the eastern zone of Celtic mintage. In contrast the stamp on the reverse side attempts to be a precise imitation, admittedly with varying success. There is not sufficient evidence so far to deduce whether these are the first coins minted by the Galatians of Asia Minor. The key-shaped coin ("Charon's coin") found in the Hellenistic stone cist grave no. 11 in the southern part of the lower-town necropolis of Boğazköy and which imitates the type of "sitting Zeus" of Alexander or Philip III on the concave side, but only has five small randomly arranged bosses on the convex side<sup>80</sup>, is not to be taken as a Trocmian coin, as construed by K. Bittel, but is an example of Danubian Celtic-Thracian-Getic coinage. It can be explained

<sup>78</sup> Hoard I (144 coins; Alexander and posthumous coinage, Philip III, Antigonos Monophthalmus, Demetrius Poliorketes, Lysimachus, Antigonos Gonatas, Antiochus I, Antiochus II, Seleucus II, Antiochus Hierax, Eumenes I, Attalus I, Seleucus II, Seleucus III, Antigonos Doson, Prusias I, Antiochus III, Perge), III (42 coins; Alexander, Philip III, Lysimachus, Seleucus), IV (50 coins, Alexander, Lysimachus), V (144 coins, Alexander, Philip III, Demetrius Poliorketes, Lysimachus, Seleucus I, Antiochus I, Antigonos Gonatas, Nicomedes I, Eumenes I, Antiochus Hierax, Seleucus II and III, Antiochus III, Prusias I, Perge); VII (see above); Cox 1953, 1966.

<sup>79</sup> Newell 1931, 1932. Calling the site Küçük Köhne was misleading.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Bittel 1969, fig. 12a.b, who may have seen the parallels to Danubian Celtic minting but thought it was Trocmian coinage; see also Kühne 1969.

by contact with a Danubian Celtic mercenary in the employ of Pontic kings or by one settling down in this area. Individual coins found in the Galatian layers of Gordium and Ancyra confirm the general picture that money was only really introduced in the central and eastern areas of Anatolia in Roman times. The Galatian rulers did not start to mint coins until the mid-1st century B.C., and only to a limited extent, namely Deiotarus I (Aes) and Brogitaros (tetradrachms) as well as Amyntas, king of Pisidia (Silver, Aes)<sup>81</sup>. As far as economic development is concerned, the Galatian areas had no special position. The coinage of the tetrachs as kings is associated with mercenary payments and with areas under their rule outside Galatia where more use was made of coins.

So far it has been difficult to assign finds which date unequivocally from the La Tène period or which can be directly connected with any La Tène style especially to the Galatians. Thus at Gordium of all places, no Galatian fibulae have been found<sup>82</sup>. Instead, Phrygian fibulae are much more widespread<sup>83</sup>; excellent gold ornaments dating from before 189 and after 166 B.C. come from Hellenistic workshops while only an iron armlet (Inv. ILS 94) can be related to La Tène style. It is not possible to assess the La Tène fibulae found in Asia Minor, particularly the Middle La Tène fibulae, as providing evidence of their being part of the traditional dress of the Galatians of Asia Minor<sup>84</sup>. The older La Tène C2 horizon of these fibulae belongs to the Pestrup group from the first half of the 2nd century B.C.; they have been found from France to southern Russia and particularly in south-eastern Europe. These fibulae must be associated with Celtic mercenaries from south-eastern Europe recruited by the Seleucid kings who were dependent on Celts from outside Asia Minor in the phase of Pergamene sovereignty over Galatia. The more recent La Tène D1 horizon, on the other hand, very probably relates to mercenaries from Celtic or La Tène-influenced groups in the lower Danubian and western Black Sea area recruited by Mithradates VI Eupator of Pontus. The weapons as grave goods in the warrior's grave at Boğazköy<sup>85</sup> point to the same area and the same period. The "Hohlbuckel" ring acquired in Finike, most likely dating from the first half of the 3rd century and the knotted ring found at Isparta which probably came from Pisidia are also related to Celtic mercenaries and their families, the former probably belonging in the

<sup>81</sup> Cf. RPC I, p. 536f.; on Amyntas also *ibid.* 538ff.; S. Atlan, *Beleten* 39, 1975, 595-611 (Side).

<sup>82</sup> O.W. Muscarella has since retracted his earlier allocations. In addition, material found on the site may also come from the Roman army from Augustan times at the latest, as the area up to the Halys including the Roman village on the tell of Gordium was part of the Colonia Iulia Germa. Thus a bronze "Hülsenscharnier" fibula was found in 1994 near the Hellenistic ashlar wall but already in a Roman context, derived from the Aucissa fibula type 5.2.1 which can be identified as the Riha type 5.12.2 and dates from the second half of the 1st century A.D. (determined by the author; cf. Riha 1979, 111ff., 139f. with table 39.78). "Hülsenscharnier" fibulae which are clearly of western origin (thus making M. Voigt's allocation to Asia Minor erroneous) are also known from Sardis, Ephesus and Pessinus, etc.

<sup>83</sup> Such a fibula was also found in tumulus A at Karalar, a tetrarchic grave from the late 2nd century B.C.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Strobel 1996, 184ff.; contrasting with Birkhan 1997, 139; Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 172f., where the archaeological material has been inadequately scrutinized.

<sup>85</sup> Stone cist grave on the site of the large temple no. 3, Kühne 1969, 38f.; relatively short sword with sheet metal scabbard, iron suspension rings from the sword belt, fragment of a spearhead.



context of Celtic mercenaries amongst Ptolemy's troops in Lycia<sup>86</sup>.

Evidence for a continuation of La Tène traditions amongst the Galatians of Asia Minor exists merely in the form of representations of weapons dating from the La Tène period: helmets of eastern Celtic types, chainmail with shoulder pieces, long oval shields with thickened ribs ("Spindelrippen") and bosses ("Bandschildbuckel") uniquely specific to the La Tène culture, as well as war horns and two-wheeled chariots with which the elite aristocratic warriors drove onto the battlefield. These are all to be found on the victory sculptures of the Pergamene kings, particularly on the parapet relief at the shrine of Athena Polias Nikephoros built in the reign of Eumenes II, on which the spoils of war of various enemies of the Pergamene kings were reproduced, ranging from weapons to ships<sup>87</sup>. The typical shapes of La Tène shields are also described in reports by Polybios-Livy on the fighting in 189 B.C. between the Galatians and general Manlius Vulso but shields of this type have not yet been found.

Important information is also provided by the terracotta pottery found in the Galatian layers of pre-189 B.C. Gordium, including local products in purely Greek traditional form alongside imports from western Asia Minor. The fragment of a male terracotta figurine with a three-dimensional "Endstullen" torc (Inv. T 72)<sup>88</sup> is particularly worth mentioning. Reference has already been made above to the Cybele figurines with painted torcs. A handle attachment depicting a man's head with the typical hairstyle of a Celtic barbarian is an example from locally produced tableware in purely Hellenistic style. Inv. P 648 is a moulded decorated attachment depicting Nike in post-Scopas style, part of a locally produced rhyton. The figure's hair band, belt and clothing were painted while the "Endstullen" torc is particularly interesting because it was obviously painted on at a later stage. Here the goddess of victory is Galatianized in a classical manner.

At Gordium itself, which was newly built as a town in Early Hellenistic times on the newly levelled area of the upper city mound, for which the man-valley between the citadel and western upper Phrygian town was filled in, the most recent excavations have thrown new light on the Galatian period of the town<sup>89</sup>. Phases I-II of the YHSS 3A period differ clearly from the Early Hellenistic period (YHSS 3B) in terms of the range of types of pottery. They are more strongly Hellenized and display a new type of painted decoration with red and brown strips; in contrast, the techniques and potters' traditions have retained their continuity. High-quality

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Strobel 1996, 185f. J. Borchardt's assumption that Celtic shields are carved in the so-called Ptolemaion of Limyra, - which in my opinion, by the way, is not a monument to the cult of the ruler but a heroon! - is long since outdated (as is Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 173 footnote 23); it is part of the building's scaled tile roof. Borchardt's theory of an early Galatian foray into Lycia is totally lacking in foundation. An interpretation of and historical context for the pictographic representations on the tower of Hançerli in Cilicia (Durugönül 1998, 13ff.) have not yet been found.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Strobel 1994b, esp. 87 footnote 113; Bohn 1885.

<sup>88</sup> I would like to thank my colleagues at Gordium for the opportunity to inspect the inventory of their depot; cf. also Romano 1995 on Hellenistic terracotta.

<sup>89</sup> G. K. Sams-M. M. Voigt, KST 16, 1995, 369-392; KST 17, 1996, 433-452; KST 18, 1997, 475-495; KST 19, 1998, 681-701; KST 20, 1999, 559-576; report from the symposium in Ankara 2001; Voigt et al. 1994, 1997; Henrickson 1993, 1994; with older chronology DeVries 1990, 400ff.

fine ware imported from Greece or western Asia Minor was in its heyday. Considerable quantities of Thasian wine amphorae reached Gordium up to the beginning of the 2nd century. The houses built as part of the new Early Hellenistic settlement were still lived in in Galatian times, now also by people with Celtic names, as shown in the graffiti. Other parts of the population were of Greek and Phrygian-Anatolian origin. In contrast, the area to the west of the large ashlar wall, which I believe to be Early Hellenistic and pre-Galatian and the significance of which is unclear at present, was used for a different purpose in the first Galatian phase and was no longer covered with mud-walled houses as it had been in Early Hellenistic times. Instead, a large representative building with an extravagant tiled roof was erected on that site. Between this building and the ashlar wall there was an open square and a street was also laid out. Built onto the west side of the wall, there was a workshop belonging to a potter and figurine maker, given a Greek name in a graffito. A 3rd-century tetradrachm was found at street level, as was a simple, very abstract stone sculpture of a very simplified head in both shape and expression on a pillar-like neck<sup>90</sup>. Parallels to this carving can be found in the Hallstatt D and Early La Tène stone sculptures of central Europe. This appears to be a second example of a sculpture from Gordium in La Tène style, alongside the alabaster figurine of a lion originally painted in red ochre. On the one hand this is surely connected with the cult of Cybele; on the other hand it has nothing to do with Hellenistic art tradition but rather resembles the depictions of lions in the Early and Middle La Tène periods<sup>91</sup>.

This built-up area with its impressive architecture, suggesting a public character to the area, was altered in phase II. The representative building was remodelled, the workshop complex was also altered, and a studio for painting moulded terracotta was set up. At this point the ashlar wall had already been dismantled along most of its length and the stone foundations had also been stolen. In this manner the square had obviously been opened up or extended. At the end of phase II the representative building was destroyed by fire and remained a ruin. The workshop complex was plundered and wrecked and subsequently fell into decay. In phase III, which follows a clear hiatus in settlement, the site was prepared for the construction of a new building; the pottery in this phase was produced locally or was imported from around 150 B.C. The end of phase II, which can also be traced in other parts of the Hellenistic settlement, can be rightly linked to the occupation of Gordium by the army of Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C. after the Galatians had abandoned the town. The Late Hellenistic settlement of the tell, which presumably started shortly after 166 and can itself be divided into two phases, was only of limited importance. After that there were no obvious interruptions to settlement, and the place once again experienced a boom in Roman times in connection with the settling of Roman colonists in the area of the Colonia Iulia Germa<sup>92</sup>. In the 4th century A.D., settlement on the

<sup>90</sup> KST 20, 1999, fig. 9.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Strobel 1991, 127.

<sup>92</sup> The premise has now been refuted that there was no pre-Roman settlement of Gordium after the site was abandoned in 189 in the face of Roman forces. Presumably the conflicts between the Galatians and the Pergamenes played a role in the history of the settlement up to 166 B.C. and presumably the area up to the River Tembris was taken from the Tolistobogii in 189/88 or after and became part of Pessinus. The eastern Galatian border must have been formed by the Sangarius south of the eastern foothills of the Sündiken Dağları until

tell of Gordium came to an end.

Another find is, however, of far greater importance. Excavations in the lower town of Gordium carried out between 1993 and 1995 revealed what the excavators called "strange burials"<sup>93</sup> above the pre-Hellenistic layers of settlement on a man-made clay terrace dating back to Middle Phrygian times and adjoining the large corner bastion (Küçük Höyük) of the Middle Phrygian town walls which were buried in a hill of clay by the Persians. On site the author was able to establish strong similarities between the Gordian findings and similar ceremonial sites or places of sacrifice in the La Tène period in central Europe<sup>94</sup> and he was the first to give the interpretation as a Celtic complex for human and animal sacrifice; unfortunately this fact has not yet been properly documented by the head of the excavation team, although this would have been expected. Neither is there any plan to undertake further excavations in this important area. A more thorough and appropriate analysis considering Celtic cult was not carried out by the excavators. Without a doubt, these are parts of a cult complex in Celtic tradition dating back to the time before the town was abandoned in 189 B.C. In Late Hellenistic and Roman times, the site was used as a cemetery; at the level dating back to Galatian times, two deposits were found in a depression. The first was a human skull, set in an upright position with the first and second cervical vertebrae still attached, next to a dog skull; the skeleton of a dog was laid over both skulls. The second deposit consisted of a dog skull with the leg and pelvic bones of a horse. Scattered over the excavated area there were more human bones, vertebrae and skull fragments. In another place, there was a large deposit of parts of human and animal skeletons, skulls and bones, put there after the tissue had partially or completely decomposed, including more than 60 parts of human skeletons, including young women, and a disproportionate number of skulls and jaw bones. In another place the decapitated skeleton of a young woman was conspicuously draped on the ground with the skeleton of a dog; another skeleton was found with its severed head in a different place. The skeleton of a young person was scattered over several spots. In the area which had been excavated there were human skeletons and parts of skeletons which had been dismembered and were partially decomposed but still attached by tendons. They were either found individually, in groups or as collections of bones together with the bones and parts of skeletons of horses (especially skulls), of cattle (especially front and hind legs) and of dogs, pigs, goats and sheep. Once the site was no longer used for ritual purposes, the deposits were covered with a thin layer of earth. Finally, to the side of this zone, large, deep clay pits were dug through the Phrygian layers and deposits to extract clay. These were then filled with rubbish, including numerous high-quality clay vessels, some of them in one piece. At the

168/166. At that time the Sangarius flowed to the east of the city mound of Gordium.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. K. Sams - M. Voigt, KST 16, 1995, 369-392, esp. 375f.; KST 17, 1996, 433-452, esp. 436f. Only incompletely recorded and only interpreted in the sense of burial rites in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 175f.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Roquepertuse, Entremont, Ensérune, Nages, Montsalier, Glanum, Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Moevres, Gournay, Montmartin, Ermitage à Agen, Estrées-Saint-Denis, Acy-Romance, Fesques, Saint Maur, Titelberg, Mont Maurin, Velence/Pákozd, Pilismarot-Basaharc, or Liptovska Mara. Cf. the relevant literature above, footnotes 31, 58. See also Birkhan 1977, 764ff, 817ff; Brunaux 1985, 1988, 1994, 1999; Brunaux-Meniel 1997; Gleirscher 1997; Lambot 1998; Mantel 1998; Metzler 1995; Szabo 1992, 101ff; Drda-Rybová 1995.



bottom of a pit ending with the stone slabs covering Late Phrygian graves, the skeleton of a man with a broken neck had been deposited with two millstones placed on his shoulders and back to prevent the dead from walking away, a phenomenon for which there is plenty of evidence in prehistoric central Europe. Above this the upper torso of a male skeleton was placed, also with broken neck, the legs placed separately (the pelvic and thigh bones are missing) before the pit was filled with rubbish, probably originating from the shrine. The parts of the second skeleton were still held together by tendons when they landed in the pit but were already in an advanced stage of decomposition. Decapitation and broken necks by hanging were the causes of death for several of the humans. This pit can be classified as a place of special burial, presumably on the edge of the sacred zone but directly connected to it. It does not suffice to interpret the entire complex in terms of specific Celtic burial rites. Obviously a holy district has been found in which human and animal sacrifices were carried out in the same manner as in Middle La Tène Europe. As the bones and skeletons found near the surface have no bite marks and have not been pulled apart, I believe that this higher lying area must have been fenced in, preventing animals from gaining access.

When the Trocmi took over Tavium, it was already a main urban settlement which must have extended over about 100 hectares in the 3rd century from the upper town on the northern slopes to Zeğrek Tepe and the western and middle town and to the two settled hills of Büyükkale and Küçük Kale in the south. The Hellenistic town fortifications mentioned in Strabo (12, 5, 2) can be seen in the terrain not always following the Late Antique-Byzantine town wall. A typical Hellenistic stronghold, no doubt the residence of a tetrarch, was constructed at the southern end of the crumbling cliff forming the bedrock of Büyükkale. One of its characteristic features is the rock-cut water shaft and tunnel with steps which must have originally led down to the water source at the bottom of the cliff. Presumably, the water shaft was originally cut off from the outside world by the massive substructures of the now missing buildings. Systematic research at Tavium and in the region of the middle Kappadox (Delice Irmak) basin carried out by the author and his team since 1997, has made it easier to understand developments in the second half of the 1st millennium B.C.<sup>95</sup> An Old Phrygian stone inscription was an important find for a historical classification of Tavium in pre-Hellenistic times. The limestone slab was ploughed up in the town area. Its surfaces show that it was obviously reused for different purposes during times: its right, left and lower sides were chipped off and it had been exposed to water erosion over a longer period. A stone inscription comparable to the Tavium inscription with similar letters was found on a door lintel from the

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Strobel-Gerber 2000; idem., Tavium. Feldforschungen des Jahres 2000, in: *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara 2001), in print; C. Gerber, Tavium in the First Millennium B.C.: First Results from the Survey, in: A. Çilingiroğlu (ed.), *Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Symposium* (Van 2001), in print; K. Strobel, New Historical and Archaeological Evidence for the Reconstruction of the History of Anatolia in the First Half of the First Millennium B.C., in: Çilingiroğlu, *ibid.*, in print. A second preliminary report for the campaigns in 2000 and 2001 will be presented in MDAI(Ist) 2002 with contributions from I. Weber-Hiden, G. Koiner, A. Puhm and E. Christoph. The regional survey has already uncovered a wealth of new and partly unexpected finds from the Chalcolithicum onwards.

Göllüdağ complex (8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.)<sup>96</sup>. In Tavium pottery dating from the 3rd to the 1st centuries was almost exclusively locally produced, following on from Iron Age traditions in production techniques, i.e. working and firing, and clearly also in the development of types. The burnished pottery is also very characteristic; apart from the typical bellied dishes which were the main type of Hellenization at Tavium and which were first produced with thin walls, shape and type also have little to do with similar products from the well known workshops in Hellenistic Asia Minor. Hardly any direct imports have been found at Tavium so far. The burnished pottery from Roman times may have taken over the forms of Terra Sigillata but the traditional light-orange slip was still preferred. Hellenistic forms continued to exist into Roman times. A special phenomenon in eastern Galatia is so-called Galatian ware or fine ware, further details of which are given below.

Alongside the old centre of Tavium, the Trocmi had other major settlements as the focal points of their tetrarchies: Ceritkale, a citadel tell on a sheer-sided rocky plateau with an outer settlement at the upper end of a valley leading to the crossing on the Halys at Karaahmetli, from where the traffic routes led to the basin around the middle and upper Kılıçözü or towards Kaman; and the newly founded Ekkobriga near Kalekişla, Boğazköy-Büyükkale and Podanala (Kuşaklı Hüyük near Sorgun), a walled citadel on the upper-town tell of the old Hittite city which was refortified in Byzantine times and had an outer Hellenistic-Roman plains settlement<sup>97</sup>. Bordering on Cappadocia on the upper reaches of the Kappadox to the west of Alişar, the tell of Çadır also had fortifications in Hellenistic and Byzantine times. It is difficult to assess the small site of Tikmen-Örenkaya (Beyazkaya) near Boğazköy, where a ditch divides the plateau from the mountain behind, and where it is possible to make out a path to the top, rock-cut slots for wall supports and part of a defensive circuit of rough blocks at the foot of the cliffs<sup>98</sup>. Based on the evidence of pottery found there, the place was used from the older Iron Age to Ottoman times. The traces of fortifications on the plateau could well date back to the 7th - 6th centuries; contemporary parallels would include the important site of Çeska Kale to the north-west of Yozgat with its rock chambers, artificially levelled off rocky plateau and a ring-shaped glacis atop which there was obviously a wall with towers<sup>99</sup>.

On the site of ancient Hattuša, the small town which existed at the turn of the 4th/3rd centuries and whose fortifications were long since useless and in ruins, was taken over and some of its buildings were used once again<sup>100</sup>. Atop Büyükkale, a wall was built on top of the rubble of the wall dating from Phrygian times; it consisted of double wall masonry filled with

<sup>96</sup> Tezcan 1992, 9 with fig. 37-38.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Strobel 1997.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Bittel 1985, 20.

<sup>99</sup> The glacis has its parallels in the glacis sites of Boğazköy Büyükkale and Südburg as well as the citadel of Kerkenes Dağı in particular, which, in contrast with G. Summers' assumptions, is presumably contemporary with the construction of the mountain town of Pteria (built around 600).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Neve 1982, 147ff, 170ff.; Schirmer 1969. In the past, the Galatian phase was believed to have begun much later, i.e. not until the 2nd century B.C., but only based on the axiom of a longer migratory phase of the tribes in Asia Minor.

gravel and pebbles and its base was 2.3 - 2.8 m thick. Instead of a gateway, it had a simple passageway. People also lived on the north-west slopes of Büyükkale and in some parts of the lower town. Imported pottery from western Asia Minor was found alongside locally produced pottery and so-called Galatian fine ware, with particularly splendid examples of this found in the graves<sup>101</sup>.

Alongside Tavium, Ekkobriga was the largest fortified settlement in eastern Galatia<sup>102</sup>. The place name derives from the common Celtic word *briga* designating an elevated place (the same as *mons*, *collis*), particularly a fortified hill, while the first part, Ekko-, is most likely derived from the name of a person<sup>103</sup>. The Galatian settlement near the present-day village of Kalekişla is in an agriculturally rich area on the edge of the Karagüney Dağı which is still partly wooded on the hilltops today. To the east, near Faraşlı, there is a larger tell which appears to have been settled since the Early Bronze Age according to the surface finds. It obviously saw its heyday in the Great Hittite empire but remained in use until Late Roman-Byzantine times. At Ekkobriga there appear to have been the following complexes, first the actual castle rock dropping away steeply on three sides adjoined by an extended walled lower town; second a flat tell on a smaller, precipitous, low rocky outcrop, on which part of the present-day village is located; third a precipitous, high rocky outcrop which blocks the broad valley and has signs that some of its rocks and cliffs were worked because of building activities at an unknown point in time; and fourth a particularly large tumulus dominating the surroundings on a mountain ridge opposite, aligned with the ancient town. On the castle rock there are some man-made terraces, also on the slopes of the lower town. A mighty mass of gravel and stones on the slope indicates the sector fortifications on the side of the lower town. According to the older inhabitants of the village, ashlar blocks "from the old town" were incorporated in buildings in large numbers as spolia as far away as Sulakyurt. The lower town was originally fortified with a wall made out of gravel and earth with a ditch in front which made use of the course of a stream on the eastern side. In a second phase, double wall masonry was constructed from carefully cut ashlar and filled with gravel and small stones. It was 2.5 - 4 m thick and reinforced with rectangular towers. Some walls are also to be found in the area of the lower town. Pottery finds are rare due to the thick vegetation; they continue into Late Roman-Byzantine times.

Finds from Tavium and Boğazköy in particular reveal that there was a unique type of painted polychrome fine ware, so-called Galatian ware, which developed in eastern Galatia<sup>104</sup>. It is found in particularly great quantities in the basin of the middle Kappadox but also spreads as far as neighbouring north-western Cappadocia and includes the regions around Alişar,

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Maier 1963.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Strobel 1997, 148ff.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. A. Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz* I 529, 533, 1404.

<sup>104</sup> On so-called Galatian ware cf. Maier 1963; Bittel 1974; Zoroğlu 1979, 1981, 1986 (and unpublished dissertation, Ankara 1978) who calls this pottery Kızıl Irmak ware and assumes it was produced at one site in the north, in the Pontic area, and also at one site in the south; Dönmez 2001 refers to more literature. For more on the sites cf. also Alkim 1956; Durbin 1971; Bayburtluoğlu 1979; Gorny et al. 1995; Özsaıt 2000; Ünal 1968; the annual survey campaigns published by S. Omura in AST and other related regional surveys.



Boğazlıan, the upper Delice Irmak, the large tell near Yenipazar and as far as Kültepe, as well as in the area around Kırşehir and Hacıbektaş. Individual pieces even made it as far as Ancyra. It also prevails in the southern Pontic area up to and including the basin of Merzifon. As reported by L. Zoroğlu, chemical analyses indicate that there were two centres of production, one further to the north and one to the south. Mostly dated as being from the 2nd - 1st centuries B.C. and into the 1st century A.D., today it must be dated further back. As early as the 1960s, F. Maier placed it as following on from Pontic-Eastern Mediterranean painted pottery and Latest Phrygian pottery. Some of the forms show Hellenistic influences but they are mostly very simple, large-diameter beakers, bowls and dishes. Alongside various high vessels, large vases of high value made for representative purposes were also produced. Based on what we know today, pottery like this started to be made relatively early in the 3rd century B.C. and continued into the early 1st century A.D.

Today it is clear that this fine ware developed from the tradition of painted Iron Age pottery in the Halys bend. Recent studies have indicated the existence of an Iron Age pottery province with innovative decorative elements after approx. 650 B.C. and the specific characteristics of which ranged from the basin of Merzifon in the north to north-western Cappadocia in the south in the Late Iron Age. At the same time, the Late Iron Age painted pottery from this area which stretched as far as Armenia Minor<sup>105</sup> can now be clearly identified as the immediate precursor of classical so called Galatian ware. Numerous painted motives were taken over directly from the older ware and the element of painted polychrome strips was added in the 3rd century, incidentally also found as a new element in Galatian-period polychrome pottery at pre-189 B.C. Gordium. At present it is not possible to say whether this innovation reflects a larger northern and central Anatolian context as well. In the pottery province within the Halys bend delineated above, external influences started to make themselves felt in style and motifs from the early 5th century B.C. onwards which changed the repertoire of types and decorations in the first half of the 5th century. These influences came from the region of Greece, the Aegean and western Asia Minor and were almost certainly passed on across the Black Sea area by trade and through contacts with Greek coastal towns, in particular Amisos (Samsun). Reference is made here to the fortress near Akalan, approx. 20 km to the west of Samsun, evidence from which stood in splendid isolation until now<sup>106</sup>. Most of the material identified so far dates from the 6th and 5th centuries, but a few test excavations in 1906 also revealed some Hellenistic material. The heavily fortified site is of prime importance as the type of fortification displays immediate parallels to the town wall of Pteria, the mighty mountain town on Kerkenes Dağı which was built in ca. 600 and destroyed in 546. Precise parallels between the main gateway at Akalan and the so-called Cappadocia Gate at Kerkenes are even clearer, in terms of the overall angled layout, flanked by a semi-

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Dönmez 2001; Genz 2000; Ceylan 2000, 2001; Sagona 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999; A. & C. Sagona, North-East Anatolia in the Iron Age: Observations on Settlement Patterns and Historical Geography, in: Anatolian Iron Ages, Fifth International Congress, Van 2001.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Macridy 1907; Cummer 1976; Fiedler 1994 on this. I would like to thank D. Stronach for discussing the evidence and sharing photographic documentation with me.

circular tower bastion and a bastion with rounded niches. It is highly likely that the empire whose rulers were based on Kerkenes after the Lydians had advanced as far as the Halys and occupied the western part of the Phrygian Empire, extended in Pontic Cappadocia as far as the hinterland of the Greek colonial towns. The Hellenizing influence in this region is documented particularly well by the painted terracotta wall decorations directly inspired by eastern Ionian art which are found at Pazarlı, to the north of Alaca, a centre of power after Cyrus' reign<sup>107</sup>. It is worth emphasizing that Phrygian graffiti were found in Pazarlı. Excavators put too early a date on this (6th century); some of the decorations do, however, only date back to the mid-5th century B.C. This was a centre of power for the southern part of North Cappadocia under Dareios I which presumably came to an end in the conflicts of the late 4th century. Other Hellenizing elements are to be found in two grave reliefs or steles from central Paphlagonia assigned to local aristocrats working in the Persian hierarchy in the 5th century<sup>108</sup>. As far as pottery workshops and developments in their pottery are concerned, the transition from the mid-4th century to Hellenistic times occurred without a break in the Pontic-Galatian area as well. It is very reasonable to locate the southern production centre of so-called Galatian ware, which was very homogenous in appearance and evidence of which is found all over the north-west of Hellenistic Greater Cappadocia, to eastern Galatia and presumably even to the area around Tavium.

As far as non-military architecture in Galatian tribal territories is concerned, alongside findings at Gordium, there is a whole series of studies, test excavations and observations which testifies to the continued existence of Late Iron Age village architecture and building traditions. As for military architecture, we can now distinguish between two categories of fortifications, the first obviously linked to the La Tène tradition of central Europe and the second with fortified buildings clearly belonging to the Hellenistic-Asia Minor type of architecture.

The most important site from 3rd century Galatia is the large refuge of Mount Olympus on the well-watered crest of the Çile Dağı mountain ridge around 20km to the north-east of Gordium which the author managed to locate in 1993<sup>109</sup>. The terrain fits in perfectly with reports on the battle of the army of Manlius Vulso and his Pergamene allies against the Tolistobogii as related in Livy (38, 19, 1-23, 9), based on the narrative of Polybios and annalistic historiography. We must emphasize that not the entire Tolistobogian federation of tribes gathered there on the mountain in 189. One of the tetrarchies under the rule of Eposognatus retained friendly relations with Pergamum and did not become one of Antiochus III's allies, the target of the Roman general's campaign. Probably the only non-combatants to draw back to the safety of the mountain top were those from Gordium and the villages in the immediate danger area, i.e. the westernmost parts of central and southern tribal territory,

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Kozay 1938, 1941; also Kozay-Akok 1957 (excavations at Büyükgölçek to the west of Pazarlı); Bisi 1963; Åkerström 1966, 161-189; Prayon 1987, esp. 175; see also footnote 39 above.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Durugönül 1994; originating from the tumulus necropolises of Daday and, presumably, Tosay.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. K. Strobel, DNP 8, 2000, 1193.

accompanied by the political and military leadership and the force of warriors from three tetrarchies. As its name suggests, the mountain itself was associated with the cult of Zeus who can also be seen as the Hellenized version of an Old Anatolian mountain and weather god. The remains of oak trees indicate that the mountain range used to be wooded. At the eastern end of the site there is the rubble of a long-drawn-out wall leading to a gateway and flanking what starts off as a relatively steep path giving access only in its upper part. At the bottom of the path there is what is obviously a man-made marshy hollow which must have been part of the water supply. The entire northern side of the mountain ridge is precipitous. At the western end of the long upper plateau, the slope down to the lower plateau is divided by a mighty u-shaped ditch cut into the rock, the inner face of which must have been banked up with a drystone wall judging from the mass of gravel seen on the inner slope of the ditch. Access is only via a narrow path in front of the steep drop to the north. Fragments of roof tiles in several spots on the upper plateau indicate the presence of buildings, as do traces of foundations made of larger blocks or double wall masonry which have been almost completely destroyed by the grass obviously being regularly burnt off. In addition there are several other large structures consisting of piled up gravel and earth for which there is no interpretation at present. Pottery shards from the plateau date from after the middle of the 1st millennium or in Hellenistic times.

A second early fortified site is found at Ortakışla at the southern limits of Tolistobogian territory on a long-drawn-out, steep-sided ridge lying in a valley loop. This spacious plateau is connected to the hills behind it by a low, narrow saddle. The edge of the plateau which drops down to the saddle is banked up with a mighty wall made out of gravel and rough stone blocks which still rises to up to 5 m today and is 15 - 20 m wide at its base. At the edge of the plateau there are several indications of the original fortifications along the edge which are even easier to follow on the north-western long side of the mountain along which a long access ramp leads upwards. There are no signs of buildings up on the plateau and only a few very small shards of kitchenware. There is good reason to believe that this is the site of the Galatian fortress of Cuballum where the Galatian cavalry successfully attacked Manlius Vulso at their first encounter in 189 B.C. and forced him to defeat hastily to beyond the Sangarius, a fact which Livy's report attempts to conceal<sup>110</sup>. There are obvious similarities with numerous sites in central Europe.

What appears to be an extremely archaic style of building is found at the stronghold at Yalnızçam on a spur protruding more than 200 m above the floor of the Sangarius valley<sup>111</sup>. The site consists of a small main stronghold (approx. 26 x 32 m) on the tip of the spur protected by a Abschnittswall from coarsely hewn oblong ashlar masonry (up to 2.5 m long) and large unhewn stones which twice bends at right angles on the left-hand side, forming a

<sup>110</sup> Liv. 38, 18, 5-8.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. also Albustanhoğlu 1996, 215-231, who only presents a superficial study of the stronghold, coming to ill-conceived historical conclusions in the process (equivalent to Peion or Mount Olympus). Its strategic importance lies in its control of the eastern end of the Sangarius defile between the Sündiken Dağları and the Kırbaşı plateau.



type of gateway at the steep edge of the cliff. Not much is left of the fortified outer barbican as a lot of the stone was stolen. At the back of the main stronghold the high standing rock formations have been cut in several places; obviously there used to be a building here on and beyond the partially collapsed outer cliff. There also appears to have been a cistern on site, all over which conifers have recently been planted. There are shards of pottery everywhere, including a very large amount of imported Hellenistic pottery; larger fragments of beakers and bowls had been recently exposed by heavy rain when the author visited the site. The pottery appears to date from the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. The area in front of the stronghold was also settled; again, heavy rain had exposed large amounts of pottery, both typical kitchenware and imported fine ware. This site can rightly be seen an immediate precursor of the "classical" tetrarchic strongholds.

On the long-drawn-out plateau spur at the confluence of the Sangarius and the Ankara Çayı at Dümrek which drops steeply into the gorges of the two rivers, there are several settlements and fortifications from various periods, mostly Byzantine and Medieval, but pottery finds prove that people also lived here in the 1st millennium B.C. At least two Phrygian rock cut monuments can be added to the various monuments since recorded at Dümrek on the southern high bank of the Sangarius. On the front part of the spur there are two fortifications from Byzantine times (Çağlık-Büyükkale and Küçükale). An older fortification made out of large irregularly shaped boulders on the steep drop down to the Ankara Çayı was not noticed in the past; although the small amount of tiny shards makes it very difficult to date, the similarities with the site at Yalnızçam are striking.

The residential strongholds and royal fortresses built by the Galatian tetrarchic leaders were completely inspired by the Anatolian-Hellenistic tradition of fortresses and fortified residences<sup>112</sup>, at least after the second half of the 2nd century, as most frequently found in Pontus, Armenia Minor<sup>113</sup> and Paphlagonia with their roots in Hittite and Urartean architectural traditions. These included large-scale incisions and steps cut into the rock as supports for what could be extremely massive ashlar walls as substructures for fortification work and to level off or enlarge rock formations; corridors, steps and rooms hewn out of the rock; cisterns, stepped tunnels or hidden water shafts which served to guarantee the site's water supply<sup>114</sup>; access ramps occasionally hewn into the rocks<sup>115</sup>; and, naturally, Hellenistic building techniques (carefully worked ashlar masonry, blocks clamped together, tiled roofs, etc.).

<sup>112</sup> Karalar/Blukion, Karahisar, Basrikale, Çanakçı, Sirkeli, Oğulbey/Gorbeus, Güzelcekale, Odunboğazı, Ekkobriga's castle rock, Tavium-Büyükkale/southern part; Tabanlıoğlu Kale/Peion with a large palace and Yenikaya with a smaller palace-type building are not associated with the typical tumulus graves of princes.

<sup>113</sup> Cf., for example, Ceylan 2000, 2001. Here too, older strongholds were refortified in Armenian-Byzantine times in a characteristic manner (e.g. Ozanlı Kalesi); a medieval site with drystone wall, here, for example, Kaleciktepe.

<sup>114</sup> Karalar, Tabanlıoğlu Kale (a spiral stepped tunnel leading downwards which was obviously restored in Byzantine times and presumably led down to the river lying around 130 m below via a series of steps cut into the almost sheer rock face which has been worn away by weathering), Tavium-Büyükkale/south, Ekkobriga's castle rock.

<sup>115</sup> Yenikaya, Çanakçı, Karahisar.

Karalar, or Blukion, the residence of Deiotarus the elder, is a typical example of such a palatial stronghold which unites all of the above-mentioned characteristics<sup>116</sup>. An enormous substructure of andesite blocks, still clamped together as they were originally, based on rock-cut steps gave the palatial stronghold a regular and monumental facade facing the saddle and the approach from the east. Fragmental frescoes testify to the original splendour of the interior design. The stronghold in which Deiotarus' father and most likely his father before him had also lived, was undoubtedly converted into its final form as a magnificent palatial stronghold under Deiotarus himself.

The residential strongholds of the Galatians are always located in a naturally safe spot on rocky outcrops or mountain peaks in the background a well-watered fertile valley in the background and dominating a larger area of fertile land. At the same time they command an important border area to neighbouring tetrarchies<sup>117</sup>. A larger settlement or lower town outside is always connected with the stronghold or citadel, as are tumuli with Hellenistic stone architecture for the graves of the aristocratic clans. In addition, all the strongholds controlled important traffic routes<sup>118</sup>. Only in one case, Tabanlıoğlu Kale/Peion, Deiotarus the elder's "treasury", did the perfect defences alone determine the selection of the site in the middle of the gorge of the Kirmir Çayı. Added to these are the "strategic" strongholds, larger or smaller in size, like Karacakaya/Soman Hisar in the area bordering on Pessinus and Phrygia Epictetus or Taşlıkale/Selâmetli, which only served to secure important strategic points or to control economically important border areas without extravagant architectural designs. Çanlı-Asartepe also belongs to this category. The Byzantine stronghold was preceded by a Hellenistic one, as proved by the pottery as well as by ashlar masonry with clamp holes and architectural blocks reused in Byzantine times; it dominated the valley of the Ilhan Çayı. The Middle Phrygian to Byzantine pottery found on the surface illustrates the long-standing importance of the site and its affiliated settlement<sup>119</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Arık 1934; Saatçı 1987, 1988. The architecture and the building of the water tunnel are misunderstood in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 182. Also the steps in the cliffs and in the bedrock served as a support for substructures which extended the surface of the rock and supported the buildings.

<sup>117</sup> Karakasu, Karalar, Karahisar, Yenikaya, Basrikale, Çanakçı, Sirkeli, Güzelcekale, Gorbeus, Odunboğazi.

<sup>118</sup> Yenikaya: the southern Mürtet Ovası and the old Ankara-Ayaş post road, the traditional crossing over the Modicus Mons; Karalar: the northern Mürtet Ovası and the crossing over the Balaban Dağları to the Ilhan and Kirmir Çayı area; Karahisar: the valleys around Nallıhan and the Ancyra-Nikaia road; Basrikale: the basin to the east of Gordium and the crossing into the valleys around Polatlı and Hacıtuğrul; Çanakçı: the valleys of the Sangarius and the Acı Deresi as well as passages from east to west or south; Sirkeli: the fertile area as far as Çubuk Ovası and the crossing into the valleys of Koca and Ova Çayı; Gorbeus: the low-lying landscape south of Ankara and the passage to the area around Balaban Çayı and the older crossings on the Halys near Köprüköy (the castle rock in the Halys gorge was not only re-occupied in Byzantine times but obviously also in Hellenistic times) and Karaahmetli; Güzelcekale: the low-lying land to the east and south-east of Haymana and routes leading to Konya; Odunboğazi: the area around Aspona, the passage over the Paşa Dağı and the direct route to the important crossing on the Halys at Kesikköprü (Ankyra-Kaisareia).

<sup>119</sup> Since 1996 the Vardars, a husband-and-wife team, have been working on a project to record the fortifications and fortified settlements from all periods in the vicinity of Ankara (Vardar 1998-2001, and a lecture at the AST symposium in Ankara 2001). These works also include the results which the author presented in Ankara in 1996 or lectured on in Istanbul in 1997.

The oldest site to have several of the above-mentioned characteristics is the castle hill near Karakasu south of Bolu, to which the above-mentioned necropolis of the Galatian princes is assigned; here we have the original focal point of the north-western Tolistobogian tetrarchy. Alongside Hellenistic pottery and fragments of tiles, there are striking examples of rock-cut slots for wall supports and hints of series of rooms as well as traces of a sector wall. There are no indications of the mortar walling which was very typical in the region for Late Antique and Byzantine sites. At the foot of the castle rock there are thermal springs which were already used in Classical times, as testified by spolia. As the basin of Bolu was lost to Bithynia in 180/79 B.C., the origins of the complex and the tumulus necropolis must go back to the 3rd century, implying that the adoption of these Hellenistic-Anatolian building forms by the Galatian leaders must be assigned to the 3rd century B.C. already.

From an archaeological point of view it is possible to follow the creation of political order in the development of major settlements and centres of power, i.e. in the strongholds of the tetrarchic dynasties of the Tolistobogii and Tectosages. Eastern Galatia, in contrast, is characterized by the takeover or setting up of major fortified settlements with citadels. At the heart of the Trocmian tetrarchies were the major settlements of Tavium for the basin of the middle Kappadox and the lower Kılıçözü, Ekkobriga in the north-west, Ceritkale in the south-east, and in the north-east the citadel in the upper town of Hittite Zippalanda (Kuşaklı Hüyük near Sorgun) with the correspondingly late tumuli in and around the mountain town on Kerkenes Dağı<sup>120</sup>; when Trocmian territory was extended by Pompey under the rule of Brogitaros in 65/4 B.C., the basin of Alaca, which had previously been Pontic, was added along with the impressive stronghold of Mithridation. The strategic and communicative significance of very many of these strongholds is proved by their refortification in Byzantine times; in addition, villages in the immediate vicinity often have a history of settlement going back to the times of the Phrygian empire or the 2nd or even 3rd century B.C. Thus, directly below the residential stronghold of Çanakçı, there is a Phrygian-period settlement. The significance of the monumental stronghold of Yenikaya becomes clear when considering the long continuity of settlement in front of the stronghold, which started in Hittite times, if not before, and lasted until Late Byzantine times; this is where the traditional road link from Ancyra westwards towards Nikaia climbs up to the pass over the mountain range of Abdüsselâm Dağı, whence the valley path descends to Ayaş<sup>121</sup>. As ruling centres, the large

<sup>120</sup> Also Kiremitlik, a Hellenistic settlement only documented by surface finds lying beneath the ruins of a Byzantine village which was only seasonally inhabited at the highest point of the Kerkenes massif from which the surrounding countryside could be controlled. The fortified settlement of Boğazköy-Büyükkale also belonged to this tetrarchy.

<sup>121</sup> Until the new main road to Ayaş was built, this paved post road was the most important route in Ottoman and Turkish times (cf. Luther 1989). The new main road corresponds approximately to the second ancient road curving off to the north which was obviously improved in Roman times (cf. TIByz 96). Both routes were protected by fortresses in Byzantine times, the southern one by Yenikaya and the northern one by Akçaören. In addition to the fortifications listed by Vardar in the area up to the small fortress above Ayaş itself, there are two more small, simple fortresses on the old route from Ancyra to Ayaş which lie on sites which were settled since prehistoric times.



<sup>120</sup>Hellenistic strongholds can easily be assigned to the individual tetrarchies, namely Karalar/Blukion to the north-eastern Tolistobogian tetrarchy, to which two further large strongholds, Tabanlıoğlu Kalesi/Peion and Yenikaya, belong, plus the stronghold of Çanlı. The final stage in the consolidation of the stronghold system in this tetrarchy must have taken place under Deiotarus after 86 B.C. The north-western Tolistobogian tetrarchy first had Bolu-Karacasu as its focal point and then Karahisar after 179. The central and obviously what was originally the most important Tolistobogian tetrarchy stretching far to the east south of Ancyra had Gordium as its main urban centre until 189; this was connected with a large refuge on Mount Olympus. Afterwards the stronghold of Basri Kale, from where the basin of Gordium could be controlled, must have gained the upper hand<sup>122</sup>. The tumulus burials of the tetrarchic clan continued to be used in the necropolises of Gordium, as tumulus O shows. Çanakçı<sup>123</sup> was the focal point of the southern tetrarchy, to which the area bordering on Greater Phrygia in Axylos as far as Veteston/Vetisso (near Sülüklü) also belonged. Residences for the tetrarchies of the Tectosages included the strongholds of Sirkeli for the northern tetrarchy, Oğulbey/Gorbeus for the central one<sup>124</sup>, Güzelcekele for the south-western one and Odunboğazı for the south-eastern tetrarchy.

Surveys over the last few years have revealed a large number of fortified sites from Byzantine times grouped around the fortified town of Ancyra, creating a continuous chain of

<sup>122</sup> The precise importance of Balıkuyumcu is still unclear (cf. TIByz 4, 1984, 138; Vardar 1991), where a large tell is perched on a precipitous rock formation, high in places and surrounded by a deeply cut watercourse. Findings, observations and numerous pithos burials as well as spolia in the present-day village testify to settlement since the Early Bronze Age with its heyday in Hittite times. Hellenistic pottery, including large quantities of fine ware, as well as Roman and Byzantine pottery, is well represented amongst surface finds. The topographical situation has strong similarities to Tavium-Büyükkale or Ceritkale. Balıkuyumcu was undoubtedly an important place in the central Tolistobogian tetrarchy, particularly after Gordium lost its function as the main settlement in 189.

<sup>123</sup> Contrary to Vardar's assumption, the foundation terracing with its excellently cut limestone ashlar blocks above the steep slope dropping off to the north belongs to the Hellenistic stronghold. Most of the pottery which has been washed down the slope is later pre-Roman but it does show that the site was still used in Early Imperial times. The buildings on the saddle at the entrance to the stronghold allow similar observations to be made. Settlement at the foot of the peak started in Phrygian times, if not earlier; the most intense period of settlement in the fertile Acı Deresi valley appears to cover the 2nd century B.C. to Late Antiquity.

<sup>124</sup> The main routeways for this territory, namely the Balaban valley between Elma Dağı and Küre Dağı, were strongly fortified in Byzantine times (strongholds of Karacahasan-Kaletepe and Süleymanlı-Asartepe); the fortress of Edige-Kaletepe which commanded the easily passable routes across the mountains east of Elmadağ was obviously started in Hellenistic times but most of the construction work dates back to the 7th/8th centuries A.D. It is still necessary to settle the matter of the buildings in the hilltop settlement of Kuşçuali on a protected plateau commanding the narrow part of the central Balaban valley which was occupied from Iron Age to Hellenistic times; the dating of the tumulus on the other side of the river has not yet been clarified either. The important route over the south-western foothills of the Küre Dağı range at Bala to the old crossing over the Halys at Köprüköy, before the river cuts through a basalt massif to the north, is controlled by three fortresses at Ücem, as is the fertile land around the lower Sofular Deresi. The sites at Ücem are all Byzantine; Old Hittite to Byzantine pottery has been found in the scree slopes off the basalt rock which command the Halys defile and crossing on the western side, indicating that this natural fortification must have been used time and again.

secure reporting posts for the whole area. Very often they do not have the mortar walls assumed to be characteristic of Byzantine strongholds<sup>125</sup> but are constructed of crude rubble walling. Some of these are very small fortified sites in exposed positions, often with a ring-shaped wall and narrow entrances instead of gateways. In many cases no pottery is to be found on the surface. These fortifications were obviously only built and used in cases of acute danger. More complex sites with neatly-faced rubble walls or courses of oblong basalt blocks have u-shaped, semi-circular or prow-shaped projecting towers; sections of outer wall systems may also be present and in some cases it is still possible to discern the high density of interior buildings in the rubble. Typological sites like Dikmen Tepe<sup>126</sup>, Akçaören<sup>127</sup> and Hisarlıkaya<sup>128</sup> are to be differentiated.

A second zone with a series of sometimes quite simple fortified sites in close succession which were only occupied in times of need is to be found in the mountains north of Ancyra<sup>129</sup>. In contrast to the sites around Ancyra itself which most likely date back to the period of Arab threats after the mid-7th century, the former must have been completely developed as a defence zone for the (intermittently) Byzantine parts of Paphlagonia and Honorias (Claudiopolis) in the late 11th and 12th centuries<sup>130</sup>. It is the very numbers of the small, hastily built fortified sites in Paphlagonia, obviously only used sporadically, which

<sup>125</sup> Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 186 erroneously assume that the important fortress of Gırmeç Kalesi dates back to an older Galatian phase; the overall site is actually quite late (cf. TIByz 2, 1984, 169).

<sup>126</sup> The triangular-shaped enclosure (approx. 40 x 40 m) at the strategically important point of Dikmentepe with projecting semi-circular towers and a narrow doorway in a carefully constructed wall of oblong blocks can be seen as a control post for the entire area of the middle Siberis. There is hardly any pottery to be found, but there is a rock church on the north-western slopes of the mountain. Rock-cut slots and traces of walls made out of large blocks outside the site hint at an older phase of building in the vicinity of the summit, maybe Phrygian rock altars or a Galatian site, all the more so since a settlement beneath the saddle to the next peak goes back to Phrygian times.

<sup>127</sup> TIByz 4, 1984, 118 still with no mention of the fortress which controlled the ascent of the second road between Ancyra and Nikaia via the İlyığut valley.

<sup>128</sup> This site, to which Gölbek or Ücem-Asartepe can be compared, and which was still classified by the author as a Galatian one on the DNP map, has since been unequivocally identified as Mid-Byzantine thanks to Vardar's findings (thus erroneous assumption in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 185).

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Matthews' survey results for more information (AST 17, 2000, 175ff.; 18, 2001, 249ff.; lecture at AST, Ankara 2001) and Belke's map, TIByz 9, 1996. Matthews does, however, erroneously assume that Galatian sites are included amongst the ones covered in the study and that it would even be possible to carry out studies on the material culture of the Galatians (presumably based on Darbyshire and Mitchell). The area covered by the British studies lies outside the territories of the Galatian tribes. It is also necessary for all surveys to distinguish between settlement of sites in Hellenistic times as well and the not implausible option of fortifications being built at a later date (which is why Matthews is too general, AST 18, 2001, 250).

<sup>130</sup> Two fortresses are to be found above the village of Aşağı Karaören, a simple and originally not very high ring wall with a small entrance made of smallish pieces of rubble and a very small, presumably tower-like construction built of large blocks, partly on a rock-cut base, at the end of the spur in an exposed position to control the valley floor which broadens out at this point. Indications of settlement on the terrace below this site include late pottery, but also simple wares from the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. I believe that the smaller site may have been built to protect the traffic routes in the basin of Gerece which belonged to the country of the Gaezatorix until 180 B.C.; it shows a certain similarity with Yalnızçam.

contradict the assumption in Mitchell-Darbyshire<sup>131</sup> that such sites with simple rubble walls could mostly be assigned to the Galatians and could be explained historically by rivalries amongst the Galatian aristocracy and the common practice of raids in Celtic society. In this context it is only necessary to point out that such sites are in no way characteristic of the La Tène culture. Indeed, it is not correct to assume that such "mutual raids" took place within the federation of tribes or ethnic complex. Conflicts which fell into the precarious category of blood feuds were dealt with at the Drynemeton, which the Galatians tribes had set up expressly for this purpose. Contrary to Darbyshire-Mitchell, there are no historical arguments for dating the sites in question to Galatian times. The Great Hittite empires, Phrygian times and the Persian period can also be ruled out for such fortified constructions, as can Roman and Late Roman times. On the other hand, some of the sites can certainly be assigned to the Early Iron Age, as the fortification of Boğazköy-Büyükkaya shows. However, evidence essentially points to construction in Byzantine times. The site of Taşlıkale/Selâmetli, for example, has two phases, the older one with a regular, fortified wall with carefully cut double-wall ashlar masonry filled with stones and earth, while the more recent fortifications, clearly built on top of the older ones in places, are visible as the remains of a drystone rubble wall. The more recent phase includes the improvement of the large cistern with mortar work while evidence for the older phase is provided by plenty of Hellenistic and Roman Imperial pottery on the slopes. In contrast, the characteristic feature of Galatian tribal territories is large Hellenistic residential strongholds.

It may be true that a profound process of Hellenization already affected major aspects of Galatian lifestyle, including eating and drinking habits, in the 3rd century, as illustrated by both locally produced and imported fine ware, wine imports, terracotta figurines and forms of religion, while in the 2nd century Hellenistic cultural characteristics became the dominant form of cultural expression and the decisive point of reference; equally, there were far-reaching processes of acculturation in relation to the indigenous population of central Anatolian. However, in spite of all this, the ethnic self-image and identity of the Galatians as founded on their own traditions was retained until Early-Byzantine times, both defined by themselves and by outsiders, and this for the entire population within the Galatian tribal states. This consciousness of using tradition - including the ideal of the heroic warrior<sup>132</sup> - and self-identity to delimit the group from other peoples, this consciousness of their possessing special prestige as Galatians, conferred on them by the outside world, is documented in a special way

<sup>131</sup> Mitchell-Darbyshire 1999, 184ff. (Map no. 3 is misleading); here Yaraşlı is erroneously counted as Galatian.

<sup>132</sup> The lifestyle of noble Galatian warriors probably resembles descriptions of heroes in Old Irish literature: suitable activities included celebrating festivals, feasting with friends and fighting. When appearing as a warrior, he put on his 'working clothes', a specific appearance, essentially the stiff, dyed hair, the 'punk' hairstyle of the Celtic warriors. Returning from battle, he got rid of this hairstyle again, let his hair grow and, following the latest fashions, had it arranged in an extravagant style for the evening when he wore the fashionable clothes of the contemporary Hellenistic upper classes. From time to time he sang and recited poetry to his friends, most likely Homer here in Asia Minor, accompanying himself on the lyre. At the end of the evening, he gave his guests a special, high-prestige gift, the heads of the enemy captured and killed that day. In this context reference is made to the image of a god with characteristic Celtic hairstyle and torc holding a lyre (Haffner 1995, 17 fig. 6).



for the Galatian tetrarchic aristocracy, which still upheld this identity and associated "image de vertues" in Roman times<sup>133</sup>. It is documented by the golden disc fibula from the rich tumulus grave at Bolu (which still had weapons amongst its original grave goods), an excellent example of Hellenistic goldsmith's work which portrays a Galatian prince in the tradition of Greek imagery of a barbarian Celtic warrior<sup>134</sup>; by the retention of the gold torc as a symbol of power as illustrated by the grave goods and weapons buried along with Deiotarus the elder<sup>135</sup>; and by the portrait head of the Galatian princess, Adobogiona, wife of Brogitaros and daughter of Deiotarus I and Stratonice, on the Pergamene statue erected in her honour between 63 and 58<sup>136</sup>. However, the cultural deportment of the Galatians of Asia Minor produced a image which caused the Romans to create a specific term for them as early as the first half of the 2nd century B.C.: they called the Galatians "Gallograeci"<sup>137</sup>. For the Romans they were already a degenerate mixture of Celts and peoples from Asia Minor who pretended to be Gauls but who were basically already "Greeks", as formulated splendidly in Livy based on the annalistic tradition available to him<sup>138</sup>. Thus the observations of the Roman historian must have aptly summed up the essential aspects even before 133 B.C., appropriately illustrating the contradiction between their cultural appearance and the ethnic identity they upheld. They were no longer comparable with the Celts to the south and to the north of the Alps, but appeared to be Graecized inhabitants of Asia Minor with pretensions of being Galatians, i.e. Celts; pretensions which were, however, perceived by the Hellenistic environment with great respect and which remained associated with the image of the Celtic barbarian who threatened the Hellenistic world and embodied the powers of "Chaos".

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<sup>133</sup> Cf. Bosch 1967, no. 105.106.

<sup>134</sup> Pfrommer 1990, 238 FK 65; 3rd century B.C.

<sup>135</sup> Fragment of a gem-studded gold torc from tumulus C at Karalar (Arık 1934; Arık-Coupry 1935); cf. the torcs found in the tumulus grave near Bolu.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Strobel 1991, 130; this becomes even more important when we observe the styles and imagery of the Late Hellenistic portraits of rulers and portraits of women from Pergamum or Asia Minor dating from the same period. In addition Adobogiona descended from the house of the Attalids on her mother's side. Her daughter is probably Adobogiona, mother of Deiotarus Philadelphus, king of Paphlagonia, and wife of the younger Castor.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Strobel 1996, 124.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Liv. 38, 17, 9f. (*mixti, et Gallograeci vere, quod appellantur*); 38, 17, 13 (*Phrygas igitur Gallicis oneratos armis*); 48, 46, 1.

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Fig. 1. Tavium seen from the south (lower town; from left to right Büyükkale, Küçükkale, Zeğrek Tepe with the theatre; central town (gardens); upper town).



Fig. 2. Tavium: the castle rock of Büyükkale.



Fig. 3. Peion (Tabanlıoğlu Kale).



Fig. 4. Mons Olympus; western part of the refuge fortification.



## ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT ZIYARET TEPE , 2000 AND 2001

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*In memoriam, Namit Alp, 1989-2000*

This report presents the results from the fourth and fifth seasons of archaeological work at Ziyaret Tepe in the Diyarbakır Province of southeastern Turkey undertaken in July-August 2000 and July-September 2001.<sup>1</sup> Ziyaret Tepe is a large, multi-period mound-site located on the south (right) bank of the Tigris River, just east of the modern town of Tepe and twenty kilometers west of the confluence of the Tigris and Batman Rivers (Fig. 1). The size and long occupational sequence at Ziyaret Tepe are indicative of its strategic location atop a broad, low terrace overlooking the wide Tigris floodplain. The principal periods of occupation of the site date from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC. In particular, Ziyaret Tepe was an important urban center during the Middle and Late Assyrian periods (c. 1300-600 BC) when it achieved a maximum extent of thirty-two hectares.

The principal goals of the 2000 and 2001 excavation seasons were: (1) to establish a basic chronological sequence at Ziyaret Tepe based on well-stratified ceramic remains and (2) to initiate a study of the morphology of the city during its urban zenith through

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<sup>1</sup> The 2000 and 2001 excavations at Ziyaret Tepe was co-sponsored by the Universities of Akron, Munich, Cambridge and Helsinki. Timothy Matney (Akron) served as the overall project director and the senior field directors were Michael Roaf (Munich) and John MacGinnis (Cambridge). The project was funded by the National Science Foundation, American Research Institute in Turkey, The Curtiss T. and Mary G. Brennan Foundation, The University of Akron, the Wainwright Fund of Oxford, the British Institute of Archaeology in Iraq and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. We were ably assisted by colleagues from Finland, England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, the United States and Turkey. Eryan Yılmaz from the Aydın Mjuseum was our government representative in 2000 and Yasar Yılmaz from the Konya Museum was our representative in 2001. As always, we are indebted to the generous assistance provided by Necdet Inal, director of the Diyarbakır Museum and his archaeological assistant Nevin Soyukaya and by Numan Tuna and Jale Velibeyoğlu of TAÇDAM who coordinate the many archaeological projects which are currently underway in the Ilisu Dam Salvage Area of southeastern Turkey. On the final day of excavations in 2000, we were pleased to receive a visit from the Ministries of Culture and Tourism and to provide a brief tour to the Kültür Bakan İstemihan Talay, the Turizm Bakan Erkan Mumcu and the Genel Müdür of the Department of Monuments and Museums, Alpay Pasinli all of whom expressed great interest and enthusiasm for our project and whose support we would like to acknowledge.

large-scale horizontal excavations both on the high mound and in the surrounding lower town. The first of these goals, in its broadest conception, involves establishing a solid ceramic chronology for the Upper Tigris river valley from the Neolithic through the Islamic periods. Ultimately, the Ziyaret Tepe chronology will be based on complete vessels from well stratified broad horizontal excavations. However, such a sequence will take many additional excavation seasons to complete since deposits of all periods must first be located and recorded. In the interim, we propose to build a tentative ceramic sequence based, when possible, on complete vessels, but otherwise on sherds from the most secure primary contexts (esp. floors and sealed pits). The 2000 and 2001 seasons at Ziyaret Tepe produced complete or near complete vessels from reliable contexts in four areas: (1) the broken vessels in the two kiln in the courtyard of the public building in Operation A; (2) the pottery kiln outside the city wall in Operation D; (3) the burnt vessels in one of the lower levels of the step trench in Operation E; (4) the jars and storage jars on the floors of the building with the mosaic pavement in Operation G. These are discussed in some detail below. Despite the recovery of sherds from many other primary contexts across the site, we shall largely limit comments here to these deposits as a starting point for our chronology of the site.

In general, our excavations in 2000 and 2001, as detailed below, have confirmed the initial published settlement history of the site and its identification as an important Assyrian center in 2nd and 1st millennia BC based on previous surface survey in 1997-1999 and on contemporary cuneiform texts (Matney 1998; Matney and Somers 1999; Matney and Bauer 2000). However, these excavations also necessitate minor amendments and corrections to these previously published interpretations of Ziyaret Tepe. In particular, our initial assumption that the high mound contained no post-Assyrian occupation has been shown to be incorrect with the documentation of extensive post-Assyrian pitting and later ephemeral usage seen, for example, in the large number of *tannurs* (bread ovens) overlying the Assyrian buildings. While, no substantial architecture from later periods has been uncovered, it seems clear that the high mound was nevertheless the focal point of considerable activity after its decline in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC. Similarly, our initial site history based upon surface ceramics suggested that Ziyaret Tepe was unoccupied during the 3rd millennium BC. This hypothesis must be revised in light of the discovery of a small mound in the lower town (Operation D) with apparent 3rd millennium BC occupation layers and the presence of Dark-Rimmed Orange Ware bowls which testify to a late third millennium BC presence at the site. Finally, we have shifted somewhat from our initial interpretation of the early 2nd millennium BC occupation of Ziyaret Tepe, originally characterized as a small village, which now appears to be much more extensive than originally thought, as documented particularly in Operation E.

In terms of the second goal – documenting the structure of the Assyrian urban center at Ziyaret Tepe – nine areas were opened up for excavation during the 2000 and 2001 seasons (Operations A through I) exposing a total area of 1,440 square meters of ancient remains at Ziyaret Tepe (Fig. 2). A goal of much of this work has been to reveal as much of the Assyrian city plan during the Late Bronze Age (Middle Assyrian period) and

Iron Age (Late Assyrian period) as possible. Here, our initial interpretations of a series of subsurface magnetic field gradiometry maps generated in 1998 and 1999 showing extensive buildings in the lower town have proven to be accurate and the initial identification of the city walls, fortifications and major structures within the lower town are corroborated. Extensive excavation in two areas of the lower town (Operations D and G, discussed below) further confirm the importance of Ziyaret Tepe as an urban center in the Late Assyrian period.

### **Tushhan in the cuneiform texts (by Michael Roaf)**

In the Late Assyrian period (c. 900-600 BC) there were three important centers along the Tigris River southeast of Amedi (modern Diyarbakır) north of the Tur Abdin range of hills. These were Tushhan (sometimes written Tushhu or Tushha), Tidu or Tedu and Sinabu. For a long time it was assumed that Tushhan, the most important of the three in Late Assyrian times, was the ancient name of the site now called Üçtepe, but known as Kurkh in the 19th century, because a stele of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) was found at this site in 1861 and it was known that Ashurnasirpal erected a stele in Tushhan. But, as Karlheinz Kessler (1980: 116-120) showed in his detailed study of the historical geography of this region in the Late Assyrian period, this must be a different stele since it was erected during his second campaign in 882 BC while the Kurkh stele was erected after Ashurnasirpal's fifth campaign (that is after 879 BC). Kessler suggested that Ziyaret Tepe was a more likely location for Tushhan than Üçtepe and this view has increasingly won adherents. Two recent articles by Norbert Karg (1999) and by Karen Radner and Andreas Schachner (2001) as well as the Ph.D. thesis of Bradley Parker (1998a) have discussed in considerable detail the texts and archaeological evidence concerning the historical geography of the region and accept Kessler's identification of Ziyaret Tepe with Tushhan. Definitive proof is still lacking, but the inscribed tablets found at Giricano approximately four kilometers upstream from Ziyaret Tepe seem to confirm this proposal.

The three Late Assyrian sites of Tushhan, Tidu and Sinabu were also known in earlier periods. Already in the Old Assyrian period (c. 1800 BC) the cities of Tushhan (then known as Tushhum) and Sinabu (then known as Shinamum) were important centers. A visit to Tushhum was discussed in correspondence between Shamshi-Adad's two sons, Ishme-Dagan and Yasmah-Addu, who ruled in Ekallatum and Mari respectively and other texts found in Mari (about 350 km south of Ziyaret Tepe) suggest that Shinamum may have been controlled by Shamshi-Adad (died 1776 BC), who ruled over his extensive north Mesopotamian kingdom from his capital at Shubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan) in the Khabur triangle. This control did not last long for a letter found in the archives of Zimri-Lim (c. 1775-1761 BC) in Mari states that "the land of Shinamum and Tushhum is the equal of the land of Elahut", which lay south of the Tur Abdin, and the writer of the letter, Itur-Asdu, governor of Nahur, recommends that a substantial gift or bribe of 20 minas (10 kg) of silver should be given to the land of Shinamum and Tushhum to ensure that they joined Mari in an alliance against Elahut.



Whether the city of Tidu on the Tigris was also mentioned in the early second millennium texts is uncertain as there seem to have been several other cities with this name (variously written Ta'idu, Tidu, or Taddu), one of which lay not far from Tell Brak (ancient Nagar). It is probable, however, that the later Mittanian capital, whither the Hurrian king moved after the Assyrians had sacked his previous capital Washukanni was identical with Late Assyrian Tidu which Kessler identified with the site of Üçtepe about thirty kilometers west of Ziyaret Tepe. Tushhan would then have been within the kingdom of Mittani also known as the Hurri-land or Hanigalbat. When the Hurrians were defeated by the rulers of Ashur in the later 13th century BC, it would have been incorporated into the Middle Assyrian empire.

Tushhan or Tushhum is not mentioned in the surviving inscriptions of the Middle Assyrian kings, but Ashurnasirpal II recorded that he had completely rebuilt the city wall of Tushhan (Grayson 1991: 202 A.O.101.1 ii 3-4, 242 A.O.101.17 ii 7-10) and it is likely that the earlier wall had been built by a Mittanian or Middle Assyrian king. Tushhan as far as we know was not the provincial capital under the Middle Assyrians, but that honor went to Ta'idu, which retained its role as the most important center of the region (Kessler 1980: 109).

The texts recently discovered at Giricano about four kilometers upstream from Ziyaret Tepe on the opposite bank of the Tigris belonged to the archive of Ahuni, son of Kidin-Sin (Radner in Schachner et al. in press). In five texts he is identified as coming from Dunnu-sha-Uzibi (a type of fortified agricultural center named after a man called Uzibi) which may be the ancient name of Giricano and in two texts dated to the year when Ili-iddina was the limmu-official (1069 or 1068 BC) he is identified as coming from Tushhi (a version of the name Tushhan). It is likely that these texts were written in Tushhan and that many of the other people named in these texts as participants or witnesses were also residents of Tushhan. Almost all of these names are typical Assyrian names but there are some that may have a non-Assyrian origin. It is possible that shortly thereafter the Middle Assyrian kings lost control of the region although who had control of the region in the later 11th and in the 10th century is not clear. When the Assyrians returned to this region it was part of the lands of Nairi and was dominated by Aramaeans (Grayson 1991: 261, A.O.101.19. 92-96).

More detail about the city of Tushhan is given in the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II, who rebuilt the city and established it as the capital of a province of the same name. On a stele found in the Ninurta Temple in his capital Kalhu (Nimrud) Ashurnasirpal described what he had done in Tushhan in 882 BC (Grayson 1991: 242-3, A.O.101.17 ii 6-28):

"I took Tushha in hand for renovation. I cleared away its old wall, delineated its area, reached its foundation pit, (and) built (and) completed it in a splendid fashion a new wall from top to bottom. A palace for my royal residence I founded inside. I made doors (and) hung (them) in its doorways. That palace I built (and) completed from top to bottom. I made an image of myself in white limestone (and) wrote thereon praise

of the extraordinary power and heroic deeds which I had been accomplishing in the lands Nairi. I erected (it) in the city Tushha. I inscribed my monumental inscription (and) deposited (it) in its wall. I brought back the enfeebled Assyrians, who, because of hunger and of famine, had gone to other lands to the land Shubru. I settled them in the city Tushha. I took over this city for myself and stored therein barley and straw from the land Nirbu."

In the Kurkh Stele Ashurnasirpal also mentioned that he "consecrated a palace in Tushha" and that he "reaped the harvest of the lands Nairi (and) stored (it) . . . in the cities Tushha, Damdammusa, Sinabu, (and) Tidu" (Grayson 1991: 259, 261, A.O.101.19. 67, 96-7).

Tushhan remained the capital of the province of Tushhan and the names of some eight governors are known (for details see Radner and Schachner 2001: 767-770). It is possible that in the reign of Sin-sharru-iskun (c. 620 BC) the provinces of Amedi and Tushhan were amalgamated with the capital at Tushhan. The correspondence of some of these governors with the king has been recovered and it describes the activities of these governors, gathering intelligence about enemies on the northern border of Assyria, building forts, looking out for deserters, providing timber for the king's construction projects and saplings for his gardens, and so on (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990: 18-35, Parker 1998b). It is clear that in the Late Assyrian period Tushhan was of great military and strategic importance in the administration and defense of the northern border of Assyria.

The later history of Tushhan is not clearly recorded in the surviving texts. Julian Reade (in press) has suggested that Tushhan and Shubria (the region north of Ziyaret Tepe on the northern side of the Tigris) may have been the destination of a Babylonian campaign in 611 BC the year after the Medes and Babylonians had captured Nineveh. He restores the badly damaged passage as the lands of Tushhan and Shinigisha, but these readings are by no means certain and even if correct tell us little about the fate of the city of Tushhan except that the Babylonian king acquired much booty from this invasion.

Although there is not much textual information about the city of Tushhan, the little that there is shows that it was an important center in the early 18th century BC and in the Middle Assyrian period. Although it seems to have suffered a decline in the later 11th and 10th centuries BC, it became a provincial capital in the 9th century BC with a rebuilt city wall, a royal palace and extensive government storage facilities. It remained the residence of the provincial governor until the fall of Assyria at the end of the 7th century BC. The subsequent fate of the city is not known from textual sources.

### Site Description

The modern topography of Ziyaret Tepe consists of two basic morphological units: a high mound or acropolis and a surrounding lower town (Fig. 3). The high mound is located at the northern edge of the site and rises twenty-two meters above the surrounding

terrain and is approximately three hectares in extent. Surrounding the high mound is an extensive lower town, spreading out for twenty-nine hectares to the west, south and east of the high mound. The lower town is generally flat, although a slight rise at the southern edge of the site probably marks the line of an ancient city wall. Likewise, the western edge of the lower town is marked by a significant *wadi* and the eastern edge by a more moderate slope, both perhaps representing the line of the city's ancient fortifications.

### **Previous Subsurface Geophysical Mapping at Ziyaret Tepe**

In 1998 and 1999, a small geophysical survey team undertook a subsurface magnetic field gradient (gradiometry) survey of portions of the high mound and lower city at Ziyaret Tepe as part of our initial study of the site (Matney and Somers 1999; Matney and Bauer 2000). A total of 8.6 hectares was mapped, representing 27% of the surface of the mound (Fig. 4). This survey technique is used to map minute fluctuations in the strength and direction of the earth's magnetic field due to disturbances immediately below the surface of the ground. The gradiometry maps resulting from our work in 1998 and 1999 showed indications of subsurface architecture and guided the subsequent placement of excavation trenches, especially in the Lower Town, where clear indications of the city wall and large public buildings could be discerned. One of the goals of the 2000 and 2001 field seasons, then, was to test our interpretations of the subsurface mapping data. Not only would this confirm our reconstruction of the line of the city wall and the gates and towers associated with it, but it would also provide the information necessary to devise improved methods for processing the gradiometry data that would make it easier to recognize subsurface features in the magnetic maps. Operation D on the eastern edge of the lower town and Operation G on the southern edge of the lower town were used as the test areas for these purposes and the results are discussed below.

### **Results of Excavations**

As noted above, excavations in 2000 and 2001 were conducted in nine morphological areas of Ziyaret Tepe. Operations A, B, C, E, F and I were located on the high mound. Operations D and G were carried out in the lower town and Operation H involved the investigation of an external cemetery near the Tigris River during the 2001 field season. The results of excavations in these areas will first be discussed below (in alphabetical order), while the conclusions which follow will address our two main research objectives, namely site chronology and city planning, in light of the preliminary results from these two seasons of work. Much of this material has only been preliminarily studied and we anticipate that many of the results presented below will require significant modification during the on-going archaeological investigation of the site.



## Recording System

Grid squares. The grid system employed at Ziyaret Tepe assumes a notional site datum approximately 600m off-site to the southwest. The entire site, then, is gridded into 10m by 10m squares identified by a northing and an easting. These numbers are expressed in meters. The grid square N1000 E1180, then, is 1000m north and 1180m east of the imaginary datum. Individual find spots are also noted in this system, e.g., N1002.35 E1186.75 represents a point 2.35m north and 6.75m east of the southwestern corner of grid square N1000 E1180.

Locus numbers. Features (e.g., walls, floors, pit cuts, pit contents and fills) are sequentially numbered with designations unique within each Operation. For recording purposes, a locus is defined as a unique archaeological feature or excavation unit. The form of these designations is the Operation letter followed by a three or four digit number, e.g., E-032 refers to locus 32 in Operation E. The locus system allows artifacts and samples from a single meaningful content to be analyzed as a unit.

ZT numbers. Artifacts and samples from Ziyaret Tepe are labelled with unique sequential four figure numbers prefixed with the label "ZT", hence ZT 0485. Groups of artifacts, such as pottery lots, are further subdivided, as needed, using an appended number. Hence ZT 1910 refers to a collection of pottery sherds from a single locus, while ZT 1910/10 refers to a specific diagnostic sherd from this group.

## Operation A

Operation A is located at the eastern edge of the High Mound and was excavated over a total area of 450 square meters immediately adjacent to a modern robber's pit in which a substantial baked brick pavement with seemingly associated Late Assyrian sherds was visible. In this area we hoped to obtain a large-scale plan of Assyrian public architecture immediately below the surface of the high mound. Two separate excavations within the Operation A area were started in 2000. First, a 10m by 10m trench directly adjacent to the robber's pit noted above was opened at N1000 E1180 and was later extended to include the northern 5m by 10m area of grid square N990 E1180. Additionally, a second 10m by 10m trench was opened up in 2000 at grid square N1000 E1140, forty meters west of the first area. The purpose of opening this western trench was to test the extent of the Late Assyrian building and to document the nature of occupation on the High Mound away from the steep edges of the mound where considerable erosion has clearly taken place. Later, in 2001, three additional areas (grid squares N990 E1180 (southern half), N1000 E1170 and N1010 E1180) were excavated to the north, south and west of the eastern trenches excavated in 2000.

Operation A can be characterized in general as comprising a series of monumental mudbrick constructions which are poorly preserved in many places due to extensive later pitting and site erosion. The architectural sequence of walls, floors and associated deposits is complex, but the essential picture of the Operation A architecture is as follows. First, the

entire area was leveled in the Late Assyrian period in preparation for the construction of a huge mudbrick platform (Phase A), which was laid down across the entire area. No excavations have yet reached the bottom of the platform, so we have no data on earlier architectural remains in this area. Subsequently, a large public building was built on top of the mudbrick platform, representing the principal Late Assyrian occupation of Operation A (Phase B). This building clearly has several distinct architectural phases, which are discussed in greater detail below. During the latest phase of the building the southern half of Operation A was covered by an extensive baked brick pavement (Phase C). This pavement sealed a number of important, possibly ritual, deposits dating to the end of Phase B. After the baked brick pavement and the associated architecture of Phase C fell out of use at the end of the Late Assyrian period, the area of Operation A appears to have been used sporadically, as post-Assyrian burials and pits cut into the earlier building. We have also documented very patchy evidence of surfaces, floors and parts of walls of uncertain function or date in Operation A (Phase D).

*Platform (Phase A).* The Late Assyrian building platform is a solid mudbrick mass at least 1.5m thick (and perhaps much thicker) made of evenly laid mudbricks. In some places the architects had used the platform itself for the foundations or lowest courses of the walls of the Late Assyrian building. In other places, wall foundations are trenched into the Late Assyrian platform. These two observations taken together suggest that the initial platform may not have been entirely level and that during the construction of the monumental building, the architects were forced to use a variety of methods to create a true horizontal surface for the construction of the building or to compensate for irregularities in the platform.

*Assyrian Public Building (Phase B).* As noted above, the building itself is not well preserved due to extensive later pitting and erosion. The basic plan of the building in its early phase consists of a courtyard or open space surrounded on at least two sides by a series of flanking rooms (Fig. 5). There were at least two floor levels associated with the early phase plan and it is clear that some floors were either plastered or made out of pebbles. There were traces of white wall plaster on the lowest brick courses in the building, although very little remained intact. Clear doorways have not been preserved and the floors, in many cases, are badly disturbed across the excavated area. As a result, this occupational Phase B of the building has provided very little in terms of well stratified remains or pottery. The few diagnostics recovered in primary context on the surface of the pavement Rooms 1 and 5 and on a small floor at the northern edge of the excavated area (Room 4, near the southern wall) are consistent with a date in the Late Iron Age on stylistic grounds. One item of note is a cylinder seal (ZT 0572) found in the building collapse of the main occupation level (Fig. 6). This cylinder seal is made of frit and bears three clear symbols: an *ankh*, a horned snake and a human with upraised arms.

As noted above, the Phase B occupation was sealed by an extensive baked brick pavement, described below as Phase C. During the 2001 season, we removed the pavement in grid squares N990 E1180 and N1000 E1180 and found below it an earlier pebbled courtyard (A-0517 and A-0249) and two unusual deposits associated with the end of the

Phase B architecture described above. The first of these deposits was found in a group of stones arranged in a rough square (A-0251) forming a sort of box (Fig. 7). The stones were laid on top of the pebbled courtyard (A-0249) and were sealed by the baked brick pavement of Phase C. Inside the stone box were a collection of disarticulated animal bones, mostly goat and sheep and fragments of a highly polished painted pottery vessel (ZT 6851) not otherwise attested at Ziyaret Tepe.

The pottery vessel ZT 6851 is most likely imported and has parallels with the eastern Mediterranean, perhaps Cyprus, as the painted concentric circles or 'targets' found on the polychrome sherds occur on Cypriot pottery vessels, although that does not necessarily mean that this pot was necessarily made in Cyprus itself. For example, Hansen and Postgate (1999: 117) refer to Knappett's publication of 'Cypriot' pottery vessels from Kilise Tepe, which is made from local clay. The shape of the sherds from Ziyaret Tepe is consistent with a globular jar or a round-bodied deep bowl. The gray fabric may be either original or a product of post-breakage burning. This would be consistent with the observation that the ivory fragments from the nearby, and possibly associated, kilns were also burnt. The presence of this exotic ware in this small sealed feature suggested to us that it may have been part of a votive deposit placed at the time the pebbled courtyard was sealed by the baked brick pavement.

Also sealed by the baked brick pavement were two rectangular features (A-0242 and A-0252) with semicircular depressions on either end (Fig. 8). Each is 3.70m long and between 1.00m and 1.20m wide and are preserved to a depth of 1.25m. They were cut through the floor of the Phase B building and into the underlying mudbrick platform (Phase A). Their walls were plastered and heavily burnt. Both features are cut by later small circular pits. The excavation of these features revealed that the bottom of both features were filled with ash and slag, probably metal slag from copper-bronze working. This suggested that the features might be kilns or metal-working facilities. In addition to copious amounts of slag, these features also contained a significant number of metal objects and fragments. Most importantly, the excavation uncovered the remains of thirteen complete (although damaged) bronze vessels, three bronze rings bound with wire (possibly handles), fragments of finely carved burnt ivory, broken Fine Ware pottery vessels and two stone vessels, one intact and one in fragments. (Fig. 9). The metal vessels will be published in detail in a separate report following final conservation and recording.

Given that all of the vessels were damaged prior to deposition, it is tempting to posit that they were deliberately smashed and that, like the votive offering described above, this deposit may represent a ritual "killing" of the old building immediately prior to the construction of the baked brick pavement. It seems unlikely that such a body of metal vessels would have just been thrown away, as even if broken, or no longer required in their present form, the metal could have been usefully recycled. It is hard to support the idea that so much perfectly good metal would be taken out of circulation without a compelling reason. It may be that the building went through a change of use and that some vessels and other objects that had been used in it were no longer required for the same purpose, yet remained somehow too special to be simply melted down and were instead buried within it,



perhaps being ritually broken first.

The pottery from the kilns in Operation A was badly broken but the majority of the sherds from at least four vessels were recovered. (Fig. 10). These are almost identical to Late Assyrian pots from Nimrud: a shallow Palace Ware bowl (ZT 7277/2, cf. Oates 1959: pots 27 and 28) in the strict sense as outlined at the Heidelberg *table ronde* (Blaylock 1999: 269); a Fine Ware bowl, close to Palace Ware in fineness (ZT 7202/1, cf. Oates 1959: pot 59); a painted bottle of a type sometimes referred to as 'carrot-shaped' (ZT 7285, cf. Oates 1959: pot 90) and a Fine Ware dimpled beaker, again near Palace Ware in its fineness. The sherds from these vessels were found in different parts of the kilns suggesting that either considerable post-depositional activity has altered the provenience of the pots or that they were broken in antiquity and scattered in different parts of the kiln in the process of filling them prior to the construction of the baked brick pavement. A fragmentary bottle rim is also very similar to an example from Nimrud (Oates 1959: pot 86). Also found in these kilns were two ceramic vessels with very high ring bases or stands (ZT 6858 and ZT 6857). One of these had a cup surmounting the base, the other a bowl. Although the published Late Assyrian assemblage from Nimrud has goblets with high ring bases, the bases usually make up less than half the height of the vessel, unlike these Ziyaret Tepe examples (Oates 1959: pots 55-57). There are, however, vessels with very tall bases from Tille level 8 (the Late Assyrian level) although where the vessel on top of the stand is extant it is usually more cup-like than bowl-like (Blaylock 1999: fig. 10:20-22). The sum of all these parallels strongly support the stratigraphic argument made above that these kilns represent a Late Assyrian feature within the large public building of Operation A. Furthermore, the presence of Fine Ware vessels and the unusual 'chalice deposit' strengthen the argument put forward above that these deposits represent some kind of ritual activity associated with a refurbishment of the building.

*Late Assyrian Building (Phase C).* At some point late in the use-life of the building, a significant alteration took place in which the southern half of Operation A was covered in a large, well built baked brick pavement. This pavement extended more than 16m from north to south and more than 6m from east to west without having yet reached the southern edge and with the eastern edge eroded away at the edge of the mound. This pavement is associated with the earlier walls that, in places at least, mirrored the line of the earlier Phase B building, as the northern edge of the pavement stopped abruptly at the northern wall of Room 1. The pavement itself was clean, providing little in the way of stratified remains. The pavement was made of badly worn baked bricks, suggesting use over an extended period of time.

*Post-Assyrian Disturbances (Phase D).* After the final abandonment of the Phase C building, the area of Operation A was used only used ephemerally. Most obviously, the area was badly pitted by a large number of deep, wide storage or refuse pits. In addition, there was one clear pot burial of child (A-0048) cut in from an upper surface, now eroded away. The burial rested on top of the Phase C baked brick pavement, but is not associated with that pavement. (Fig. 11). This burial was first recorded in 2000 and, in itself, did not seem particularly noteworthy. The child was buried in a small ceramic vessel and had a

number of grave goods associated with the skeleton, including nine complete and fifteen fragmentary golden-colored glass beads (ZT 2171), a single ceramic vessel (ZT 2172) and three earrings, of which one was silver (ZT 2170) and two appeared to have been of copper-bronze (ZT 2488 and ZT 2489). It was not until the 2001 season, when our conservation staff started to clean the earrings for drawing and photography, that we discovered that the copper-bronze earrings, were actually made of an alloy of gold and copper, as was shown when a spot test using a solution of hydrochloric and nitric acids and deionized water tested positive for gold in the artifacts. Furthermore, testing of other copper-bronze artifacts from post-Assyrian contexts revealed five more gold-copper artifacts: two bowls discovered in 1998 as surface finds in a plowed-up grave in the lower town (ZT 0189 and ZT 0190), two additional earrings (ZT 5562 and ZT 5799) and a fine metal pin (ZT 5622). The context of all of these finds, as near as can be determined since several came from uncertain or mixed deposits, is post-Assyrian in date. Whether they form a coherent assemblage remains to be determined through additional metallographic analyses.

*Grid square N1000 E1140.* While the remains of the monumental mudbrick structure of Operation A lay immediately below the surface at the eastern edge of the high mound, the results of work immediately to the west of this area were less informative. In grid square N1000 E1140, only 40m from the monumental building, there was no clear Late Assyrian architecture recovered. Here, careful excavation revealed a series of hard-packed earthen surfaces associated with tannurs and pits, many of which included glazed Islamic sherds. The depth of this deposit is over two meters, suggesting that our initial assessment of the medieval period as brief and ephemeral at Ziyaret Tepe was mistaken. Indeed the depth of the medieval period deposits, both here and in Operation B (discussed below) argue for a lengthy post-Assyrian use of the high mound. Despite considerable exposure, however, we have yet to recover any substantial post-Assyrian structures on the high mound. This may be the result of taphonomic processes and erosion, or the vagaries of sampling error given the small percentage of the high mound surface that has been excavated. However, it may also indicate that the later usage of the High Mound may have been limited to temporary, even seasonal, shelters and does not represent an important occupation of the mound. Only in a small 3m by 2m sounding in grid square N1000 E1140 was a surface located that seems to contain significant Iron Age materials. At a depth of approximately 2.50m below the surface, a stone-paved surface was found along the northern edge of the grid square containing a few possibly Late Assyrian ceramic forms.

Apart from the pottery from the kilns and the votive deposits, very little other Late Assyrian pottery was found in the Operation A building. There were two main reasons for this. First, the large post-Assyrian pits had removed a substantial area of the floors. Second, those floors and courtyard surfaces that remained had been kept clean and supra-floor deposits contained a quantity of residual material including Middle Assyrian sherds and Dark-Rimmed Orange Ware bowl sherds. The latter is a distinctive ware type with a bright orange slip and a dark band at the rim and occurs in bowl forms with a slightly inturned rim and a flat or ring base. Despite a superficial similarity to Hellenistic bowl types, Dark-Rimmed Orange Ware bowls date to the later half of the third millennium BC and have

been found at Tell Brak, where they are fairly rare (Oates et al. 2001: fig 401:271-73, 275). At Ziyaret Tepe at least as many sherds of this type have been found in one season (in which no third millennium BC levels were dug) as were found in twelve seasons spent excavating third millennium BC levels at Tell Brak. This is a further indication that this ware type belongs in the Upper Tigris area and not in the Khabur region, a conclusion shared with the excavators of Tell Brak (Oates et al. 2001: 162).

The post-Assyrian pottery from Phase D of Operation A spans over 1000 years. There are only about three possible Partho-Sasanian sherds with applied decoration on the rims and several possible Roman jar rims in a red-brown very gritty fabric (close to Brittle Ware) with strap handles and corrugated shoulders. The Islamic period is better represented with gritty jar rims (occasionally with rolled moulded decoration) and jar disc bases, emerald green glazed sherds, Sgraffiato Ware in a variety of colors and fine hemispherical plain white/yellow glazed bowls. A number of complete sections of a flat-based bowl type with vertical sides and occasional lugs in an orange coarse chaff fabric are also probably Islamic in date.

*Overall conclusions in Operation A.* It is clear that Operation A has uncovered part of a monumental Late Assyrian public building. Within the limited excavated area it is impossible to determine with certainty the function of this building. The size of building, the thickness of the walls and the extensive baked brick pavement testify to its importance, as does its location at the eastern edge of the acropolis overlooking the expansive lower town. To date, we have no evidence for a destruction layer in the building and the paucity of *in situ* finds argues for a gradual abandonment. It is conceivable that the monumental building recovered in Operation A is the palace of Tushhan that was constructed by Ashurnasirpal II in 882 BC, but there is insufficient evidence to make this claim with any certainty. The discovery of the metal-working installations and the presence of considerable luxury goods, such as the burnt ivories, imported pottery and metal vessels hint at a palace workshop area, although a much larger area must be uncovered to make this claim with any certainty. Work will continue in Operation A during the 2002 field season.

### Operation B

Operation B was located on the western half of the high mound where subsurface magnetic field gradiometry in 1998 produced enigmatic results, but showed the possible existence of a large structure, roughly square in shape. Excavation here was limited to a 5m by 5m square in the southwestern corner of grid square N1040 E1000. This area contained a thick layer of medieval remains, most clearly represented by a number of large storage pits and associated *tannurs*. One especially large *tannur* had been relined at least five times in antiquity suggesting that it had remained in use over a considerable time. Despite finding pits and *tannurs* dated to the Islamic period in Operation B, there is no evidence of any substantial architecture or permanent dwellings from that period. Again, based on the remains of Operation B, it is suggested that periodic and temporary visits to the site over centuries led to the accumulation of trash deposits and significant disturbance of remains



immediately below the modern-day surface. The prominent features of Operation B are a very large storage pit and the significant depth of the post-Assyrian deposit.

### Operation C

Operation C was cut into the western slope of the high mound at a point approximately 6m below the present top of the tell. This operation was not laid out along strict grid coordinates since its location was determined by the pit dug by the villagers, and it lies within grid square N1040 E940. This area was chosen because a large, flat limestone slab laying parallel with the slope of the mound had caught the attention of local villagers and had encouraged clandestine digging. Furthermore, villagers from nearby Tepe claimed to have taken some complete vessels from a hole in this part of the mound. Since we noticed active illicit digging on the mound, it was deemed prudent to investigate. It was immediately obvious that a large modern pit had disturbed the area and dislodged the limestone slab noted above. The methodology we chose to employ in Operation C was to clear away the soil which had fallen into the modern pit and then expand the pit, cutting a straight stratigraphic section into the side of the mound, thus minimizing the amount of work needed to assess the nature of this area of the site. In order to do this, we cleaned across an area 3m wide to a depth of 2.10m (Fig. 12).

In Operation C, both the northern and southern edges of the trench were marked by large pits filled with soft gray ashy fill. Later *tannurs* are also seen in the section overlying well-stratified deposits. These deposits were tentatively assigned to the first half of the second millennium BC because of the presence of Red-Brown Wash Ware (see below). While admittedly excavated over a very small area, these deposits seem to represent a building that was terraced into the side of a pre-existing mound. Architecturally, the area was marked by two stratigraphically contemporary floors on either side of a mudbrick wall running parallel to the edge of the high mound. The easternmost floor was approximately 1.10m above the level of the western floor. As this building is at the edge of the mound, the most obvious explanation for such a dramatic difference in floor levels is that the building was terraced into the side of the high mound. The eastern floor had an associated plastered feature of unknown purpose and little diagnostic pottery associated with it. The western floor, however, was a stone-paved surface covered in pottery sherds, mostly fragments of large storage jars. This ceramic group (ZT 1910) contained of a number of diagnostic sherds, most of which were of Red-Brown Wash Ware (Fig. 13). This pottery is ubiquitous on archaeological sites in the Upper Tigris region and seems to represent a flourishing of the area prior to the rise of the Mittani and Middle Assyrian empires. The dating of these ceramics to the first half of the second millennium BC is based on the association of Red-Brown Wash Ware with a Khabur Ware vessel at Uçtepe (Sevin 1989; 1992; Köroğlu 1998), as well as its stratigraphic position at Ziyaret Tepe in Operation E (see below).

### Operation D

Under the supervision of John MacGinnis of the McDonald Institute at Cambridge University, an area of 500 square meters was exposed in Operation D in 2000, located at the eastern limit of the lower town. Operation D included grid squares: N1000 E1480; N1000 E1490; N1000 E1500; N1010 E1480 and N1010 E1490. This area is marked by a significant rise of less than two meters in the contour of the otherwise flat lower town. The primary objective in excavating Operation D was to investigate whether these contours marked the remains of a city wall and whether the noticeable mound along this line was formed from the remains of a gate structure. The site had further interest in terms of a large magnetic anomaly that was seen in the subsurface gradiometry survey map completed in 1998 (Matney and Somers 1999: fig. 6). Recovery of datable material was a significant consideration in all these operations. The principal result of the 2000 field season was the confirmation of the presence of a monumental mudbrick building at the eastern edge of the settlement (Fig. 14). This structure was represented by a series of mudbrick walls between 2.5m and 3.0m thick, with possible external buttresses or small towers. The northern area of Operation D was dominated by a mudbrick platform 13m wide from east to west and extending into the northern baulk.

The excavation of this mudbrick structure was extremely difficult for, despite its size, the bricks were generally in poor condition and exceedingly hard to delineate. The structure was found immediately below the topsoil and its walls consisted of a mixture of red and gray mudbricks clearly visible in section under good light but very difficult to recognize in plan. The bricks measured 34cm square by 10 to 12cm thick; the mortar joints were 2 to 5cm thick and composed of hard brown clay with white chalk inclusions, which is the same composition as virgin soil in this area of the site. The monumental mudbrick structure overlay a deposit of gray soil, approximately 10cm thick, which ran across the whole of Operation D and effectively divided the stratigraphy into two phases (Fig. 15). Excavation of the earlier phase, below the gray soil stratum, was limited to two 1m-wide slot trenches running along the western and northern sides of grid square N1000 E1490. Beneath the gray soil layer (D-006), we found an earlier cultural horizon marked by a white plastered floor (D-008) abutting a lower, thin mudbrick wall (D-011) with an associated supra-floor deposit (D-007). The supra-floor deposit was rich in cultural materials — bone, pottery, charcoal and worked flint. The wall was preserved to a height of only 14cm and on the south side of the wall was a door socket (ZT 3554) that was let into the floor. Under the white plastered floor was a layer of brown earth and a cobbled surface (D-014) with an associated pit, itself cut into natural. These deposits, stratified below the main north-south wall that is part of the city fortifications, possibly represents a small settlement in the lower town prior to the expansion and fortification of Ziyaret Tepe. The ceramics found in place, including a possible Ninevite 5 sherd, suggest a date in the third millennium BC. These surfaces were clearly stratified below the wall and predate the major expansion of the site in Assyrian times. The wall was only one brick thick, suggesting a modest domestic structure of Early Bronze Age date. Elsewhere on the site, we have recovered — albeit not

yet from non-primary contexts — several sherds that resemble Metallic Ware, a late third millennium BC ceramic ware known from numerous sites in northeastern Syria. Similarly, a number of Dark-Rimmed Orange Ware bowls dating to the late third millennium BC were found. The very limited distribution and quantity of third millennium BC pottery suggests that, while Ziyaret Tepe was not a large town in the Early Bronze Age, it was also not entirely abandoned as we had previously thought.

The northern sector of Operation D was dominated by a massive mudbrick platform that filled nearly the entire western third of the excavated area (Fig. 16). The bricks were of a standardized size: 37cm square by 11cm thick and were red or gray in color. A later grave had been cut into the platform in the southeastern corner of this trench. The nature of the structures which might have been constructed above this platform are impossible to determine as no overlying architecture was recovered and our area of excavation was limited, although the possibility of this being part of the city gate seems very likely (see also Scott and MacGinnis 1990 on Late Assyrian gateway structures from Nineveh).

The western portion of Operation D produced the only clear occupation surfaces associated with the mudbrick structure. At least two small rooms were constructed in the western part of Operation D in grid square N1000 E1480 (Fig. 17). These two rooms were approximately 4m by 6m in extent; their precise function is uncertain. The northernmost of the two rooms was badly disturbed by the late burial noted above. The southernmost room had enigmatic mudbrick features associated with the northern part of the room and a poorly defined floor, although the lines of the walls were very clear during excavation. It seems possible that these rooms were part of a tower or gatehouse structure and that the small scale of our excavations has limited our ability to understand the total plan of these remains.

Finally, the discovery of an intact pottery kiln in the northeastern corner of the trench is important as a potential piece of evidence for the dating of the construction of the city defenses (Fig. 18). The kiln was 2.60m long and was preserved to a height of 1.40m. This was the source of a strong magnetic anomaly in the gradiometry survey conducted in 1998. This kiln was some 14m east of the edge of the mudbrick constructions in Operation D and lay clearly outside of the city proper. We were not able to excavate the entire kiln in the time available, but we were able to section it across the middle and excavate one half completely. The structure of the kiln was reasonably well preserved. It had been constructed by excavating a large hole into virgin soil and lining the hole with roughly formed bricks of varying sizes (variously 31 by 17 by 11cm; 44 by 20 by 12cm; 29 by 32 by 8cm). In the center of the kiln was a column of bricks preserved up to the seventh course, at the top of which the beginnings of arching were still intact. The floor of the kiln was formed simply by the natural clay, burnt red by firing, with no other prepared surface. Some of the post-firing contents of the kiln were still present, probably not *in situ* in terms of their original placement within the kiln, but found as they had been left following the sorting through of the kiln after its final firing. A considerable quantity of vitrified clay material suggest that the final usage of the kiln may have involved a significant overfiring that resulted in its abandonment.



The fill of the kiln as excavated consisted of mixed layers of earth and ash containing substantial quantities of potsherds, including three whole vessels that were broken but otherwise complete (Fig. 19) and a number of diagnostic fragments. The pottery has been provisionally studied. The latest pottery (ZT 2547) is probably Mittani or Middle Assyrian in date. ZT 2547 has a rectangular rim which may be Middle Assyrian, although there are also rectangular rims on some Mittani vessels (cf. Oates et al. 1997: fig. 212: 614). A Khabur-Like Ware jar (ZT 2549) with painted decoration would be called Khabur Ware if found on a site further south and has a rounded ring base frequently found on second millennium BC jars, for instance on Old Babylonian jars from Tell al-Rimah (Postgate et al. 1997: fig. 90). The jar also has similarities with late Old Babylonian jars at Tell Brak (Oates et al. 1997: fig. 193: 312, 313). Also found were a Mittani gray burnished ware tripod bowl (ZT 2548; cf. Oates et al. 1997: fig. 205: 530 for shape) and two Mittani carinated bowl rims. The two rims are in a coarser fabric with more vegetal inclusions than similar shapes from Tell Brak which are often burnished (cf. Oates et al. 1997: fig. 189: 200, 206: 559 for shape).

Although the precise dating of the kiln can not be ascertained by reference to the vessels within, which may in fact cover a significant span of time, it does seem clear that the latest pottery within the kiln pre-dates the Late Assyrian period and, in fact, there is no Late Assyrian pottery associated with the kiln. This is significant because if the kiln was intentionally located outside the city wall and was in use in the Late Bronze Age, then the fortification of the Lower Town may have been undertaken long before the Late Assyrian period and the form of the urban settlement in the Late Assyrian period may have followed a pattern previously established in the Mittani or Middle Assyrian period.

### Operation E

Excavations on the high mound along the eastern edge of the *tell* in Operation E were directed by Michael Roaf of the Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie in the University of Munich and financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft as part of the research project investigating "The northern frontiers of Mesopotamia". Operation E produced the best stratigraphic sequence from Ziyaret Tepe, revealing a sequence of occupation layers from the Middle Bronze Age (c. 2000 BC) to the Late Assyrian period (c. 700 BC). Although there are some gaps in the sequence, these do not seem to have been of long duration and the major periods of occupation are well represented both in architectural remains and in pottery finds.

Work was started in August 2000 by clearing a 5m-wide trench from the top of the mound towards the bottom, scraping with shovels to remove overlying loose soil and thorny vegetation. The clearance started in the northern half of grid square N1080 E1190 and was halted approximately two-thirds of the way down the mound as it appeared that the surface deposits below this point consisted of slope wash.

Having cleared the surface of the slope, it was possible to see several points high on the slope of the mound where mudbrick walls were eroding out. Working in the western-

most areas of the clearance (N1085-1090 E1190-1198) we were able in 2000 to recover a well-stratified sequence of deposits, including many superimposed building levels as well as pits dug into these levels. In 2001 the excavations were extended 5m further to the west and about the same to the east (N1085-1090 E1185-1203). In order to facilitate the description of the excavation the sequence has been divided into six steps numbered from the top. These steps are the result of how the trench was excavated and, although roughly in chronological order, do not represent significant stages in the settlement history at Ziyaret Tepe.

Step 6 (Fig. 20). The earliest levels excavated so far were investigated at E1201-1203, where a series of several external surfaces were discovered. Into the earliest of these a ceramic drain consisting of a flat ceramic trough (E-309; ZT 7535) 35cm wide, 12cm deep and originally more than 83cm long was inserted. A later surface contained an area of stone and pottery tile paving (E-306). The dating of these layers is difficult as only a small area has been excavated and not many sherds were recovered, but the presence of a number of Dark-Rimmed Orange Ware bowls suggests a date towards the end of the third millennium BC (or later if these are residual sherds), since this type of pottery is dated to the later centuries of the third millennium BC at Tell Brak. A later pit (E-304) more than 2 meters deep was dug in the southern part of this step.

Step 5. Above these surfaces was one of the most interesting discoveries of the 2001 season. Here part of a single period building was excavated, which was destroyed in a fire of exceptional vehemence that turned the collapsed roof debris into a kaleidoscope of bright reds, yellows, and oranges (Fig. 21). The small part of the Brightly Burned Building that has so far been excavated (E1197.5-1201) includes the outer east mudbrick wall built on a foundation of river cobbles (E-079 and E-080) and part of a paved street or alley (E-311) running along the wall. On the west side of the eastern wall parts of two rooms have been excavated: the northern one is quite narrow (c. 1.1 m wide) while the southern is more than 2.5 m wide (the southern wall of the room lying beyond the southern edge of the trench).

Both rooms were filled with extremely highly fired debris. Much of this derived from the burnt roof of the building and impressions of timber beams were preserved in baked plaster from the roof. Unusually, large potsherds were incorporated into the upper layer of the roof plaster: these might have provided additional protection against the winter rains. Amongst the debris were also several complete pots and the remains of large heavily straw tempered clay containers probably originally unbaked or lightly fired which were subsequently baked in the fire. These vessels may have been stored on the roof and collapsed into the room. Good samples of seeds and of charcoal were collected which should give useful information for dating and for the botanical remains. Unfortunately none of the charcoal so far recovered is large enough for a dendrochronological determination, but it is likely that suitable samples will be found in the as yet unexcavated portion of the building. The fire was so intense that the originally sun-dried mudbricks of the wall between the two rooms have been turned into baked bricks. There were almost no finds on the small area of floor of the northern room that has been excavated: the floor of the southern room has not yet been reached.

The date of the Brightly Burned Building cannot yet be firmly established. It is clearly later than the lower lying levels containing late third millennium BC Dark Rimmed Orange Ware Bowls and earlier than the layers above which contain pottery which has parallels with Mittani period assemblages in Syria and northern Iraq. A date in the first half of the second millennium would seem to be most likely. Before we can be more precise about the date we need a larger sample of pottery, but we may note that in this building sherds of Red-Brown Wash Ware were identified. The dating and significance of this type of pottery is uncertain, but some of those excavating in the Ilisu Dam area consider it to be diagnostic of the first half of the second millennium. Red-Brown Wash Ware has also been found in the excavations at Uçtepe in association with a classic Khabur Ware vessel and at Giricano, but the other pottery from these two sites, despite some general similarities, is not identical with that from the Brightly Burned Building. It is likely that the differences between these sites are chronological and the Brightly Burned Building should be dated earlier, perhaps to the first quarter of the second millennium BC. Most of the vessels from this small room were deep carinated bowls (in two sizes), as well as two jars with rolled rims and an open bowl with lugs on the rim (see Fig. 24: ZT 3291 and ZT 3305). There are also a number of sherds with concentric painted circles from the Brightly Burned Building which are certainly not Khabur Ware in style. It seems that, unlike in the subsequent periods, the pottery in the Upper Tigris region was distinct from that in Mesopotamia south of the Tur Abdin. On present evidence, this level probably belongs somewhere in the first half of the second millennium, but with a restricted repertoire of vessels recovered so far it is not possible to be more precise at the moment.

Above the collapse of the building were a series of external surfaces. At a later time a shallow pit formed in the southwestern part of the area in which water collected. This was partly filled with stones and formed the substructure for the pebble and sherd surface encountered in the next step up.

Steps 3 and 4. This pebble and sherd surface was associated with a number of features found in the lowest excavated part of Step 4 (E1196-1198). Here in an early phase an east-west mudbrick wall (E-042) c. 60cm wide had been constructed with open areas to the north and south. A pottery pipe in the wall acted as a drain allowing water to flow under the wall. This pipe may have been a re-used tall stand. To the south of the wall an additional wall was built up against the E-W wall which with a wall running to the south created the corner of a room. Within this room part of a mudbrick bin filled with ash was excavated.

After these structures had fallen out of use a sloping pebble surface was identified running over the top of them. Above this were further deposits and a surface that may have been associated with a row of stones running approximately north-south along the northern two-thirds of the western limit of excavation of Step 3 (E1195-1196). These stones were probably either the foundations for a mudbrick wall or were placed against the edge of a mudbrick wall lying further to the west. Above this but running in a slightly different direction and reaching as far as the southern edge of the trench was a mudbrick wall. Whether these walls were house walls or boundary walls is uncertain but the latter seems



more likely. The mudbrick wall was buried beneath a thick deposit (c. 1m deep) of numerous external surfaces showing evidence of puddling and burning. These surfaces were fragmentary and difficult to follow but undoubtedly represent the gradual accumulation of fill in open external areas, possibly courtyards within a house or unoccupied areas within the settlement.

The structures within Steps 3 and 4 may date to the Mittani period. A Nuzi Ware sherd came from these layers and amongst the pottery were other typical Mittani types (e.g., tall carinated beakers), but the ceramic sample is small and largely consists of redeposited sherds and so this dating must be considered provisional.

Step 2. (Fig. 22). A pebble surface, which sloped down from east to west, ran over the top of these fill layers. In the side of Pit E-032, which was dug through the northern part of Step 2 (E 1193-1195), it could be seen that this surface ran up to a mudbrick wall still standing five courses high. After this wall had fallen out of use, it was covered by a layer of ash and on top of this two mudbrick walls (E-025 and E-026) forming the corner of a room were built. Dug into the corner of this room was a child's grave (E-030). This was much disturbed by being used later as an animal lair, but as well as fragmentary human bones it contained part of a fine brown conical beaker which might be of Middle Assyrian date. It is not clear whether this grave should be associated with the use of this building or was dug after the building had fallen out of use. The floors to the west of these walls were destroyed by Pit E-022 and the northern part of Wall E-026 and the associated floors were destroyed by Pit E-032.

Step 1. Step 1 was excavated in two separate 5m by 5m squares. Excavations were started in 2000 in E1190-1195. In 2001 the excavations in this square were continued and the 5m by 5m square to the west (E1185-1190) was also investigated (principally under the supervision of Diana Stein). The stratigraphic situation was complicated in this area because the foundations of later walls were dug into earlier building levels and the whole was made more difficult to interpret by later pits removing vital stratigraphic connections. There is no obvious hiatus between Steps 1 and 2 and the excavations in Step 1 have in some places reached levels investigated in Step 2, but, since no direct stratigraphic link has yet been established (the earlier levels in Step 1 being observed in the edges and bottoms of later pits and the intervening layers being not yet excavated), it is easier to treat them separately at the moment. Furthermore a row of pits (including Pits E-022, E-032, and E-083) has effectively removed most of the layers between Step 1 to the west of E1193 and Step 2 to the east. The earliest features in Step 1 are mudbrick walls and surfaces visible in the sides and bottoms of pits dug deep into earlier levels. These walls are aligned with those in Step 2 and are probably contemporary with them.

Visible in the south side of Pit E-032 is a pebble surface about 30cm above the floor on the west side of Wall E-026. The occupation layers above this no longer survive, but must have built up to a height of more than 1m since dug through them was a circular pit (E-022) over 2m in diameter with a white layer at the bottom typical of grain storage pits. These pits are often more than two meters deep, but the sides of this pit only survived to a height of 50cm and were covered by a later surface. The explanation must be that the area

was levelled in antiquity and the later levels including that from which Pit E-022 was dug were removed in this operation. It is possible that this levelling operation was carried out in conjunction with the construction of Walls E-234 and E-211: the absolute level of the floor to the east of Wall E-211 is the same as that of the surface sealing Pit E-022 and the layers to the west of Walls E-211 and E-234 belong to an earlier phase than the walls showing that they were terraced into the mound. Above Pit E-022 were a series of external floor surfaces often strengthened with pebbles and sherds. Into these surfaces were inserted several small pits and two *tannurs* (E-010 and E-004) in subsequent phases. From the pottery found in these layers they can be dated to the Middle Assyrian period.

The latest of the surfaces to the east of Wall E-234 rose up to go over the eroded stub of the wall suggesting that this area had at some stage fallen out of use. These layers, as well as Walls E-211 and E-234, were cut by the deep foundation trench (in places more than 1.1m deep) for a later building. The surviving walls (E-013, E-208, E-237 and E-238) in these foundation trenches are of unplastered mudbrick and are the remains of the walls below floor level.

The plan of the building consists of a N-S wall (numbered E-013 and E-237 and visible in the base of the rectangular pit) with two cross walls running E-W. The wall to the north (E-238) has been exposed for a distance of c. 1.20m while that to the south (E-208) extends a distance of 4.60m as far as the west edge of the excavated area, forming a room over 3m wide. The thickness of the walls and the depth of the foundations indicate that this was a substantial building. Since there are no cross-walls running to the east, it is possible that Wall E-013 is the east wall of the building. More of the plan of this building can be recovered through shallow excavation in the neighboring grid squares.

At the moment the dating of this building is uncertain as no pottery that can be firmly associated with it has yet been excavated. It is clearly Middle Assyrian or later and it is cut by the pit in which Walls E-011, E-012, E-204, and E-239 were inserted, which is dated by the sherds found in it to the Late Assyrian period. It is possible that it should date to the Middle Assyrian period. Less likely it might belong to the period (c. 1050-900 BC) when the Assyrians no longer controlled this region (Roaf and Schachner in press). The pottery found in the nearby Pit E-032 dates to this period, but the character of the building is not what might be expected to have been built in this period. The third possibility is that it was constructed early in the Late Assyrian occupation of the site.

An important discovery in 2000 was the large Pit E-032, whose excavation was completed in 2001 (Fig. 23). The pit cut the surfaces above Pit E-022 as well as the earlier occupation layers revealed in Step 2. The base and lower part of this pit were marked by a white surface resulting from the decay of chaff or straw. The pit was round, approximately 3m in diameter. In all probability it was used for the storage of grain. The fill of the pit was very varied with bricky patches and ashy lenses. The surface from which this pit was dug has not survived. The pit is now c. 2m deep but may have originally been deeper.

The pottery from Pit E-032 included much East Anatolian Early Iron Age pottery. (Fig. 24). Particularly diagnostic were bowls and hole-mouth jars with corrugated, grooved or ribbed rims. The pottery from the pit forms a largely coherent and consistent assem-

blage, even though it also includes a number of Mesopotamian Late Bronze Age sherds (Middle Assyrian and Mittani) and a few even earlier sherds. At Tille, these handmade grooved vessels occur in a level that is preceded by three Iron Age levels (levels 1-3) that have different pottery. Blaylock (1999: 268-269) suggest a date in the 10<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century BC for the grooved pottery levels at Tille (levels 4-7), although Müller and Bartl (2001) would place this pottery between 1100 and 900 BC (see also Roaf and Schachner in press). The pottery from Pit E-032 includes several different fabric types. The grooved bowls with inturned rims occur in cooking ware (black/brown burnished with abundant medium mineral inclusions), in a brown fabric with fine vegetal and mineral inclusions and a black burnished exterior surface, and in a yellowish fabric with abundant fine white mineral and fine vegetal inclusions. There are also small hemispherical bowls in the latter fabric with no grooved decoration and a variety of rolled rim, other bowls, handmade jar rims and several painted sherds, some of which conform to the yellowish gritty wheel-made fabrics decorated with plum-red paint that co-occur with the grooved bowls at other sites, e.g., Gredimse and Giricano. It is hoped that in the course of the next year a detailed report on the pottery and other finds will be prepared for publication. The pit was also sampled for animal bones and botanical remains.

The latest construction in Operation E was another pit, this time roughly rectangular in outline. This cut through the upper part of Pit E-032 as well as the foundation wall E-237. The sides of this pit were lined with mudbrick walls, those on the south and west one brick thick while those on the north and east only a half brick wide with the rough cut edges of the half-bricks set against the edges of the cut. The floor of the structure was covered with whitewash that was also observed on the lower parts of the unplastered surfaces of the walls. The pottery from above the floor contained only a small number of diagnostic sherds, half of which were Middle Assyrian and the rest Late Assyrian in date. One of the latter groups from this building in Operation E was a cylindrical beaker with a slightly rounded base. This beaker type has been identified by Arnulf Hausleiter as one of the few Late Assyrian pot types that is confined to the earlier part of the Late Assyrian period (Hausleiter 1996; Roaf 2001). It is probable then that this room was constructed in the Late Assyrian period. The function of the structure is also not certain. It was mostly subterranean and may have been used for storage. Whether it was a free-standing structure or part of a larger building which has been completely eroded away is uncertain as is also the elevation of the floor or surface from which it was dug.

The northwest corner of the structure was partly removed by the digging of Pit E-205 which also removed part of the south face of Wall E-238 and of the east face of Wall E-234. Other late pits included E-230 and E-212, all of which were cut from surfaces which have been eroded from the surface of the mound. The latest "pit" (E-055) was dug into the "Late Assyrian" structure between the 2000 and 2001 seasons. Presumably dug in search of treasure, it removed the remains of Wall E-011 and the east end of Wall E-239 as well as part of the edge of Pit E-032. To the north this pit had been extended to create a cave over 2m deep. This cave follows the outline of an earlier pit (called E-083) which was filled with very soft ashy material. The precise relationship between Pit E-083 and Pit E-



032 is not clear but it may well be that Pit E-083 was dug before Pit E-032.

*Overall Conclusions in Operation E.* The stratigraphy of Operation E is detailed and complex and covers a period of about 1500 years. Some nine separate building levels have been identified. In all but one case there is evidence for breaks in occupation between the building levels attested either by external surfaces overlying the building remains or by levelling operations that have removed later layers.

This fine-grained stratigraphy offers the opportunity to establish a detailed ceramic sequence which will cover both the little known Middle Bronze Age as well as the Mittani and Middle Assyrian periods. Of particular interest is the Brightly Burned Building which seems to belong to a local Upper Tigris culture independent of the kingdoms south of the Tur Abdin, perhaps after Shamshi-Adad ventured into this region. The pottery of the Mittani and Middle Assyrian periods found at Ziyaret Tepe is very similar to that found in northern Syria and northern Iraq, while the grooved pottery found in the Early Iron Age Pit E-032 has connections to the west, north and east but not to the south. One observation that may have wider implications is that at Ziyaret Tepe it appears that when the Upper Tigris valley was ruled by Mesopotamian kings, whether of the Mittanian, the Middle Assyrian or the Late Assyrian empires, the pottery used is very similar to that from south of the Tur Abdin. At other periods, however, the pottery is not closely related to southern pottery. So perhaps here pottery assemblages change not with population but with political control. In future seasons we wish to pursue this question in greater detail, by refining the pottery sequence in order to document the changing relationships not only with the regions to the south but also with those to the west and north. We will also extend the excavation to give information about earlier periods.

### Operation F

Like Operation C, this excavation was conducted in order to investigate an area of the high mound that was badly disturbed by illicit modern digging at Ziyaret Tepe. Operation F is located in grid square N1070 E1090. This is an area at the southern end of a deep ravine which cuts into the high mound, which Guillermo Algaze suggested was the location of the city gate in Late Assyrian times. This area suffers from very dramatic erosion, seen in the quantity of material that has spread out from this cut onto the surrounding landscape to the north of the high mound. In Operation F, a mechanical backhoe had been used by villagers to cut a deep, narrow hole into the high mound. It was approximately 2.5m deep and exposed an impressive section on its southern side. Conveniently, it was roughly rectangular in shape, having been made with a mechanical digger, and the section was easily cleaned. Our approach to this Operation in 2001 was to cut into the mound to the south of the hole in order to expand the area covered and to allow us easy access to the northern section. Approximately half of the soil required to complete the clearance was stratigraphically removed, exposing at least one cobbled (exterior) surface (F-0017). A very preliminary assessment of the pottery from this area determined that the material excavated in 2001 was mixed, with a considerable quantity of Islamic sherdage.

### Operation G

Work in Operation G in the lower town in the 2001 season was directed by John MacGinnis. Operation G was located southwest of the main mound. Two factors led to choosing this part of the site for the focus of work in 2001. First, this area showed up on the contour survey as a significant low mound in its own right. Second, results of the subsurface magnetic field gradiometry survey completed in 1998 in this area showed features that had the appearance of coherent architecture. An area of 400 square meters was exposed. Apart from the plowzone and layers of mudbrick wash, we came down straight onto a major residence with walls 1.5 m thick, made of large bricks (41 x 41 x 12 to 14cm) of fresh red clay (Fig. 25). The architecture was covered by less than a meter of overlying material. The most striking feature of this large residential building is undoubtedly a mosaic pavement of squares of black and white river pebbles that average about 12cm long. These were arranged in a checkerboard pattern, mostly whole squares of a single color, but with some divided into four by diagonal lines with opposing triangles of the same color, and some decorated with rosette patterns (Fig. 26). The main entrance to the residence was through a doorway paved with three large stone slabs (each measuring approximately 1.20m by 0.60m). It is not yet clear whether this led into a roofed room or an outer courtyard; in any case, this room/courtyard then gave access to the cobbled courtyard. Another small room off the cobbled courtyard in which the pieces of one large pot were found smashed on the floor was excavated in its entirety. A third, larger room was also partly excavated, revealing the remains of a pithos in the center, while a fourth room contained two more pithoi *in situ* in addition to a quernstone and the remains of six other whole pots.

We also carried out two deep soundings in different parts of the building. The first of these was excavated in order to determine the depth of the building's foundations. These turned out to be five courses of brick deep, or about 70 cm. This sounding also revealed remains of a possible earlier building of a much less substantial nature than the later residence. A pit cutting this earlier phase but sealed by the main residence yielded pottery and a carbon sample. The second sounding was carried out to investigate the overall depth of cultural deposits in this part of the site, which proved to be a little over 3.0m. It was encouraging to note that the features interpreted as walls on the gradiometry survey corresponded closely to the plan actually recovered.

Although only a small part of this building has been excavated, the presence of a checkerboard patterned mosaic floor indicates that this was an important Late Assyrian building (Fig. 27). Such pavements have been uncovered at Tell Ahmar/Til Barsip (Areas C and E), at Arslan Tash ("bâtiment aux ivoires"), and at Tille Höyük, as well as in the recent excavations at Ashur itself. (Blaylock 1998; Bunnens 1989; 1992; 1994; 1997; Radner, pers. comm. on Ashur). These Late Assyrian mosaics can also be viewed as part of a much broader phenomenon stretching across Anatolia. For example, Young's expedition to Gordion in the mid-1950s brought to light a developed Phrygian tradition of mosaic

floors, e.g., the well known geometric mosaic in the “West Phrygian House” (Young 1965). Indeed, the color and intricate Phrygian mosaics of Gordion were in Young's opinion far superior in design and execution than the Assyrian floors at Arslan Tash and Tell Ahmar (Young 1965: 12-13). However, as recent excavations in the east have shown, mosaic floors are also important throughout Assyrian sites and examples include those from the capital at Ashur.

Although only preliminarily studied, the ceramics found in Operation G did not resemble the other well stratified Late Assyrian levels from the 2000 and 2001 seasons at Ziyaret Tepe (see Fig. 24). The jars and storage jars found broken *in situ* on the floors of the checkerboard building in the outer town are not particularly diagnostic in themselves. Unfortunately, the more distinctive Late Assyrian torpedo jar rim forms, with swollen rims and ridges on the neck, do not seem to be found in the Ziyaret Tepe region (for types see Curtis and Green 1997: fig 42: 188-193). Apart from the storage jars, an almost complete medium jar (ZT 6007) similar to one of the Khatuniyeh vessels: Curtis and Green 1997: fig 38:160) was found resting on one of the floors near a pithos and a rim sherd of an Early Iron Age handmade black burnished spouted vessel, which may be residual, was found in fill close to one of the floors.

The remainder of the ceramic material from this area is in the form of sherds in topsoil and fill below topsoil. Many of these are bowl rims are shapes familiar from other Late Assyrian sites, such as rims with single grooves on them (cf. Oates 1959: pots 21, 32; Curtis and Green 1997: figs. 35: 118, 124, 125; fig. 36: 145; fig. 37: 156). However, although the shapes are familiar, the ware of the Ziyaret Tepe pottery is different. Those from further south have a buff, generally gritty fabric with occasional vegetal inclusions whereas the examples from Ziyaret Tepe are a red-brown heavily burnished fabric. There is nothing in the ceramics of this building precluding a date in the Late Assyrian period, although, on the other hand, there is nothing that conclusively proves such a date either. At the present time the checkerboard mosaic floor is the most distinctive datable feature of the building.

### Operation H

During the 2001 season, we were notified that there existed a possible external cemetery to Ziyaret Tepe, located near the Tigris River, 1700m north of the high mound. Here more than a dozen graves marked by stone settings were clearly visible on the surface of a very low mound. The mound was bordered by a ditch on all four sides and was virtually devoid of surface artifacts, except two eroded featureless sherds. With the permission of our government representative, an area 2m by 3m was investigated where a large rectangular worked basalt slab was seen sticking out of the mound surface. Excavation revealed a large pit (H-0006) measuring at least 1.20m by 1.50m and approximately 1.45m deep that extended into the western and southern edges of the trench. This pit is clearly modern and the edges of the pit are marked by the claw marks of the backhoe that dug it. Several worked stone slabs had been dumped into the pit. Pit H-0006 itself cut into



a deeper grave (H-0005) which was so badly disturbed that only the feet of the skeleton survived, along with a clear cut made originally for the narrow grave. There were no associated grave goods. Below Grave H-0005 was a lower grave (H-0007) at a depth of 1.65m below the mound surface, which was much better preserved. The cut for the body was approximately 60cm wide and 2.20m long. The top of the cut had been removed, leaving a preserved depth of only 15-20cm. The body was laid on its back with the skull slightly tilted forward. Arms, hands and ribs were all *in situ* and well preserved. Below the pelvic area, the skeleton appears to have been disturbed. Dilek Erdal, a physical anthropologist from Hacettepe University, suggested that this might have been an early Islamic burial because of the orientation of the body and the lack of grave goods. In any case, it is clear that we did not find in Operation H an extramural cemetery for Ziyaret Tepe during its urban period.

### Operation I

In 2001 a series of eight small sondages was excavated, four in the northwest corners of grid squares N1080 E1010 to N1080 E1070 and four in the north-east corners of squares N1080 E1100 to N1080 E1160, running down the slope from near Operation B across the gully which may have marked an early entry route into the settlement and eastwards up the slope towards the area of Operation E. Each trench measured 1m N-S and 2.5m E-W. The aim of this operation was to open windows into the mound in order to learn more about how the mound was constructed and to develop our understanding of the settlement history of the site. The sondages were excavated to a depth of c. 1.5m below the surface, or to the first substantial building level if one was encountered. Since this work was undertaken at the end of the 2001 season the pottery and finds have not yet been studied in detail and only a few provisional remarks may be made.

The westernmost sondage in N1080 E1010 produced only sloping layers of ashy fill probably washed down from higher up the mound. Further east in N1080 E1030 an area of baked brick paving with small stones between them was revealed about 1.2 m below the surface. The baked bricks are not rectangular but trapezoidal and so were probably made for some other purpose and re-used for the paving. The sondage in N1080 E1050 contained loose ashy fill down to a depth of c. 1.4m below the surface where a patchy white floor (like those commonly found at the bottom of pits) was found. It is possible that the whole sondage lay within a large pit and the floor represents the bottom of this pit. In N1080 E1070 an Islamic glazed sherd was found under the foundation stones of a wall and beneath this, at a depth of about 1.1m below the surface, a mudbrick structure covered almost the whole area of the trench. The size of the bricks and the nature of the construction is not inconsistent with a Late Assyrian date and it might have been part of a substantial wall or, given the rather irregular lay of the bricks, more probably some sort of terrace platform like that excavated in Operation A. The sondage in N1080 E1100 was dug into the east slope of the gully and the deposits contained much sand and small stones and may have been redeposited. In N1080 E1120 part of a possible pit was excavated though the identification

is not certain. In N1080 E1140 parts of two *tannurs* probably dating to the Islamic period were found and below these an area of stone paving of uncertain date was uncovered. In N1080 E1160, the easternmost of the sondages excavated in Operation I, part of a stone lined pit was excavated as well as possible surfaces beneath the bottom of the pit. The dating of these features is not certain.

## General Conclusions

The 2000 and 2001 excavation seasons at Ziyaret Tepe have documented the importance of the site in the 2nd and 1st millennia BC when the city functioned as an important border city during the Middle Assyrian and Late Assyrian periods. The excavations in Operations A, D and G are especially salient on this point since they provide evidence of monumental construction dating to the Late Iron Age. While Operations A, D and G represent wide exposures of Late Assyrian architecture, earlier *in situ* material is limited to Operations C and E. The ceramics from Operation C, a possibly early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC building terraced into the western side of the high mound, are briefly described above. Operation E, the far more extensive step-trench on the eastern edge of the high mound has produced an interesting sequence of material dating from the Late Assyrian periods down to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC and promises to be the foundation of the chronological sequence at the site.

As discussed in previous preliminary reports (Matney 1998; Matney and Somers 1999; Matney and Bauer 2000), surface survey and intensive sherd collection have provided evidence for an occupational history at Ziyaret Tepe spanning the late Neolithic through the Islamic periods with the heaviest concentration of the material dating from the early 2nd through the mid-1st millennia BC. Three specific modifications to that earlier published site history have been discussed above: (1) the documentation of a small third millennium BC mound in the lower town to the east of the high mound; (2) growing evidence of a significant early 2nd millennium BC occupation and (3) recognition of a long, if ephemeral, use of the high mound in medieval times. Future excavation seasons will clearly continue to augment and improve our understanding of the settlement history of Ziyaret Tepe.

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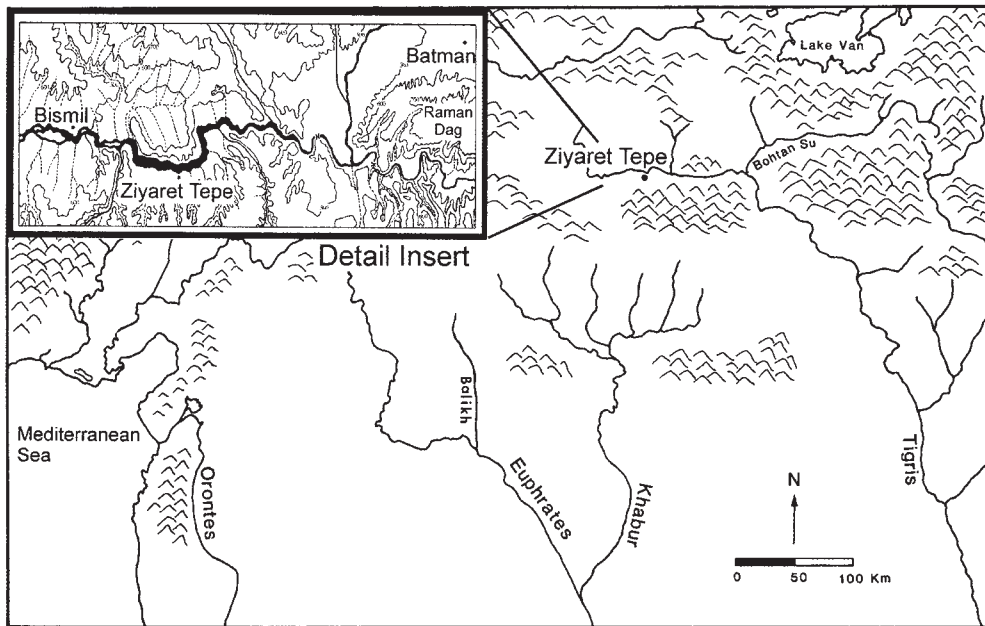


Fig. 1. Regional map showing location of Ziyaret Tepe.

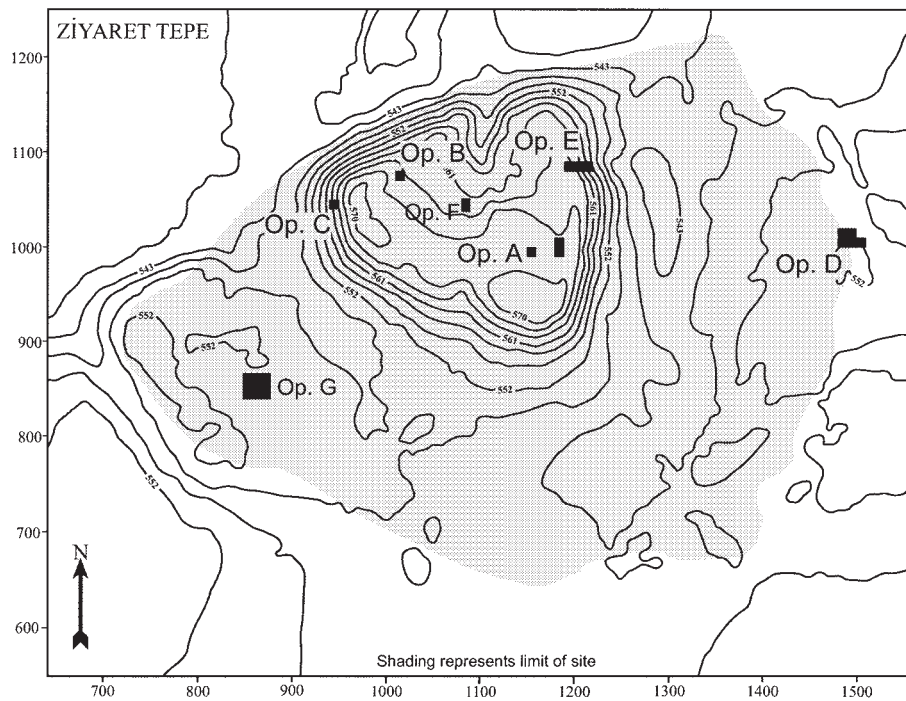


Fig. 2. Topographic plan of Ziyaret Tepe showing areas of excavation in 2000-2001.



Fig. 3. High mound of Ziyaret Tepe facing north.

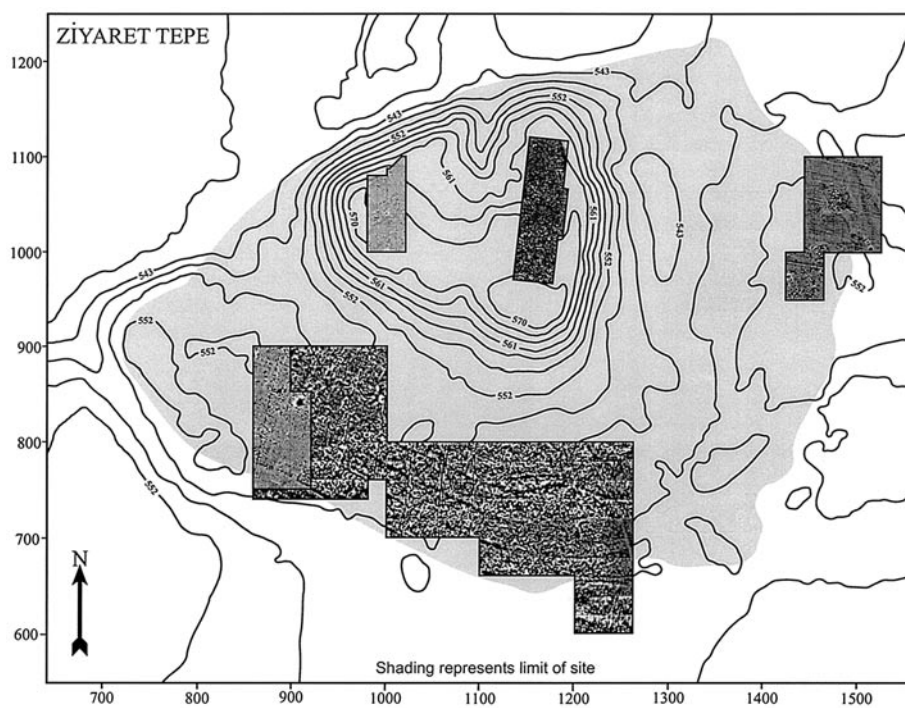


Fig. 4. Topographic plan showing results of gradiometry survey in 1998-1999.



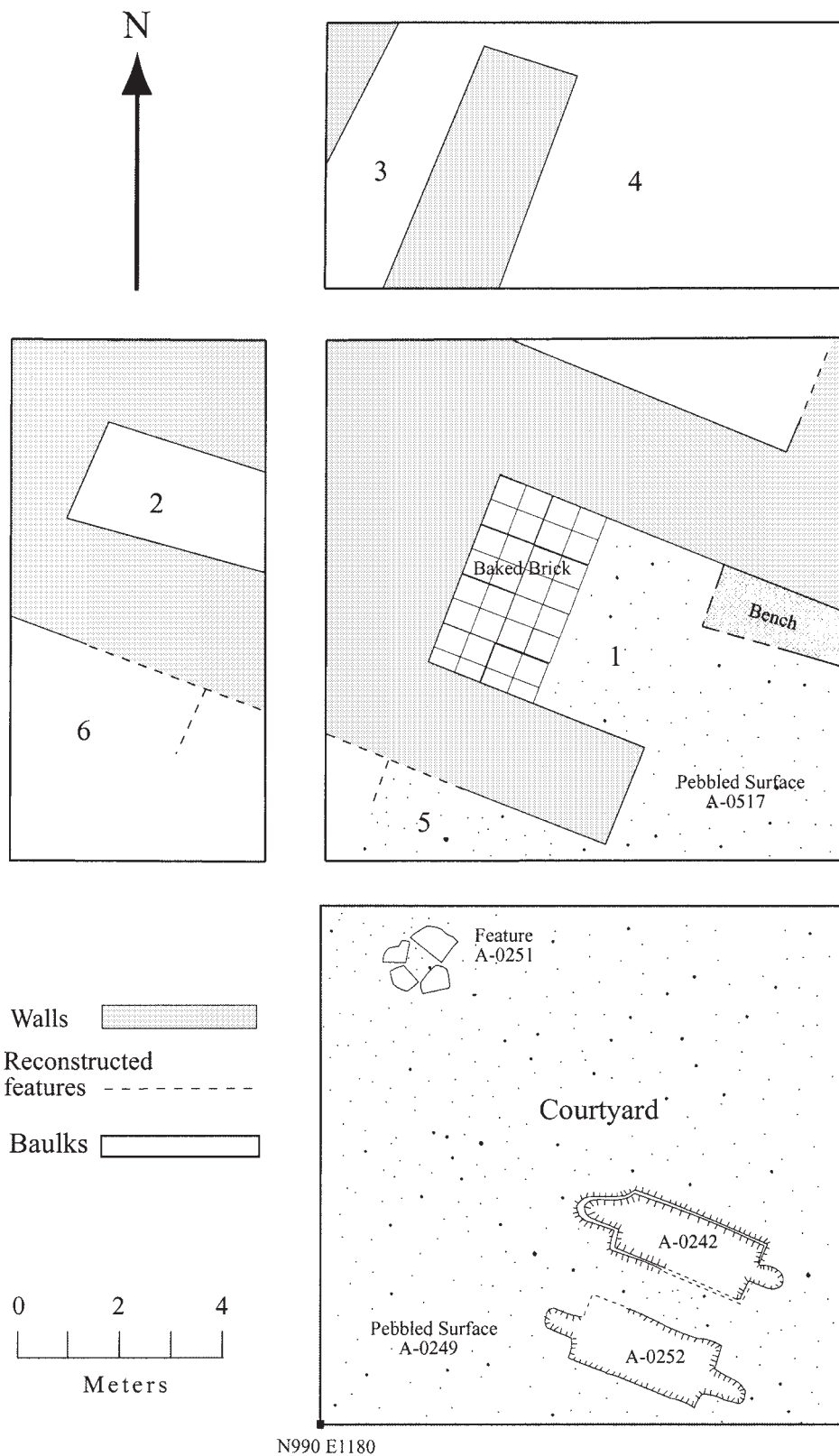


Fig. 5. Principal architectural remains in Operation A.

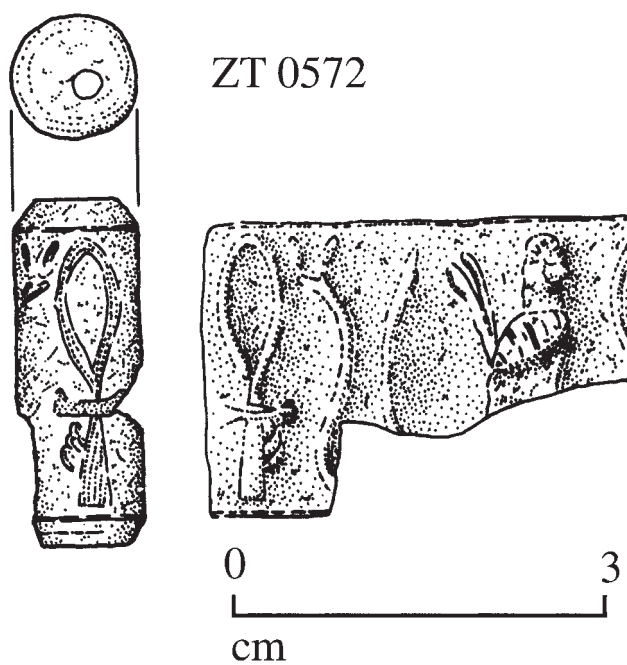


Fig. 6. Cylinder seal from Operation A (ZT 0572).



Fig. 7. Foundation deposit in Operation A (A-0251).



Fig. 8. Metal-working kilns in Operation A (A-0242 and A-0252).

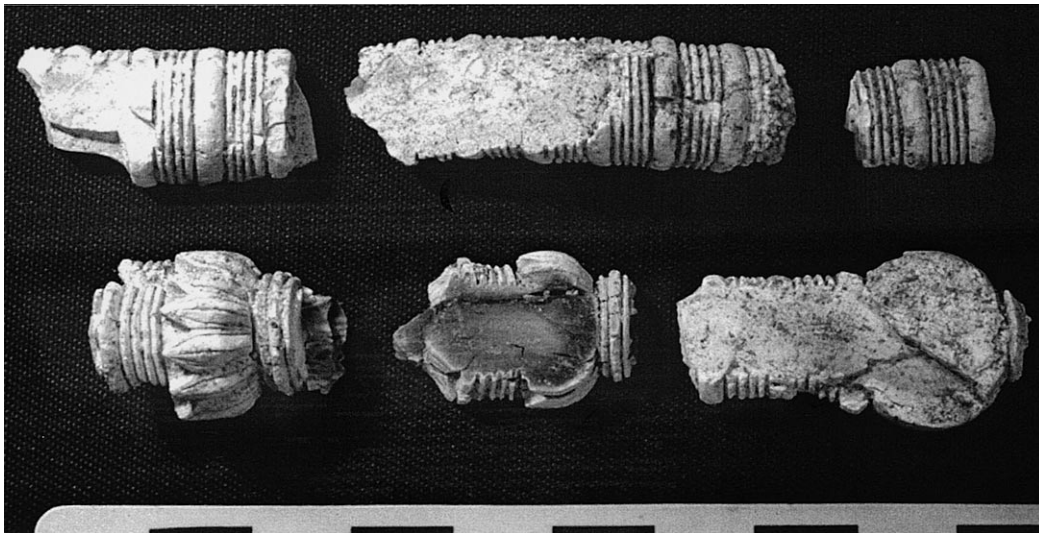


Fig. 9. Burnt ivory fragments from Operation A kilns (ZT 7236).



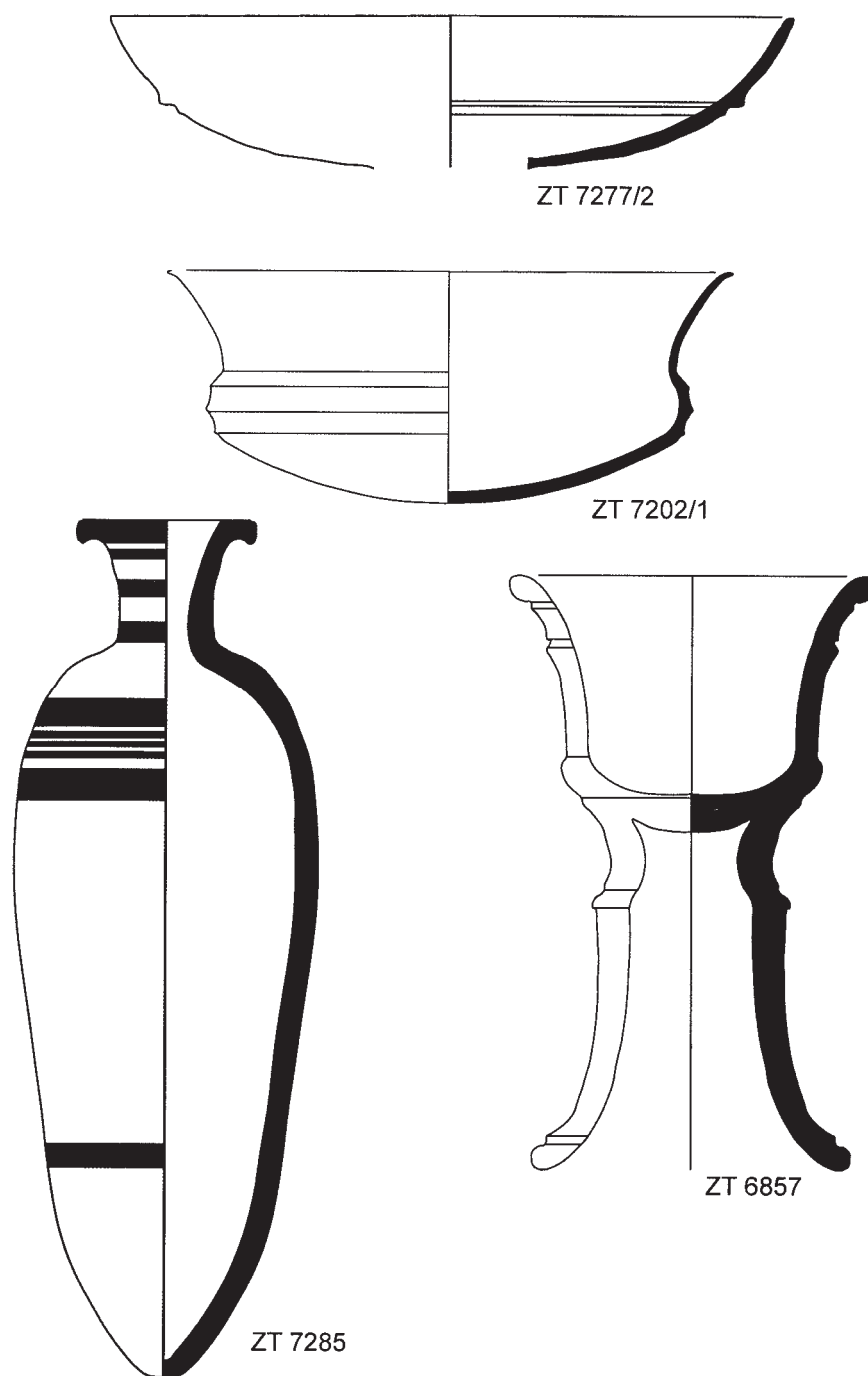


Fig. 10. Pottery from Operation A.

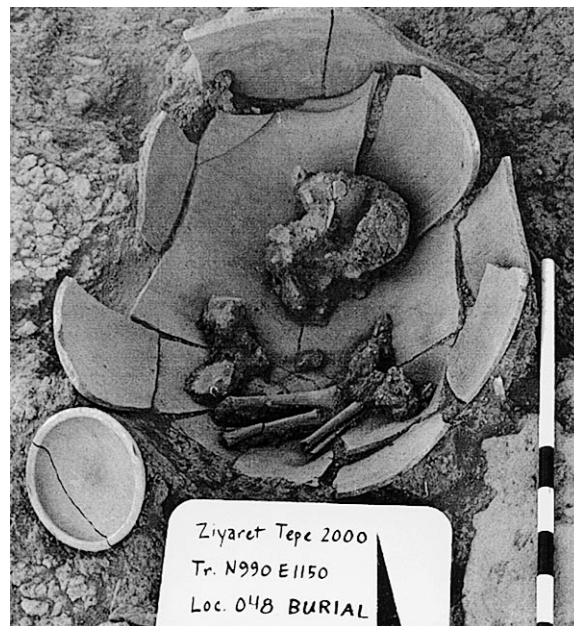


Fig. 11. Pot burial of child in Operation A (A-0048).  
Note associated bowl to southwest of burial.

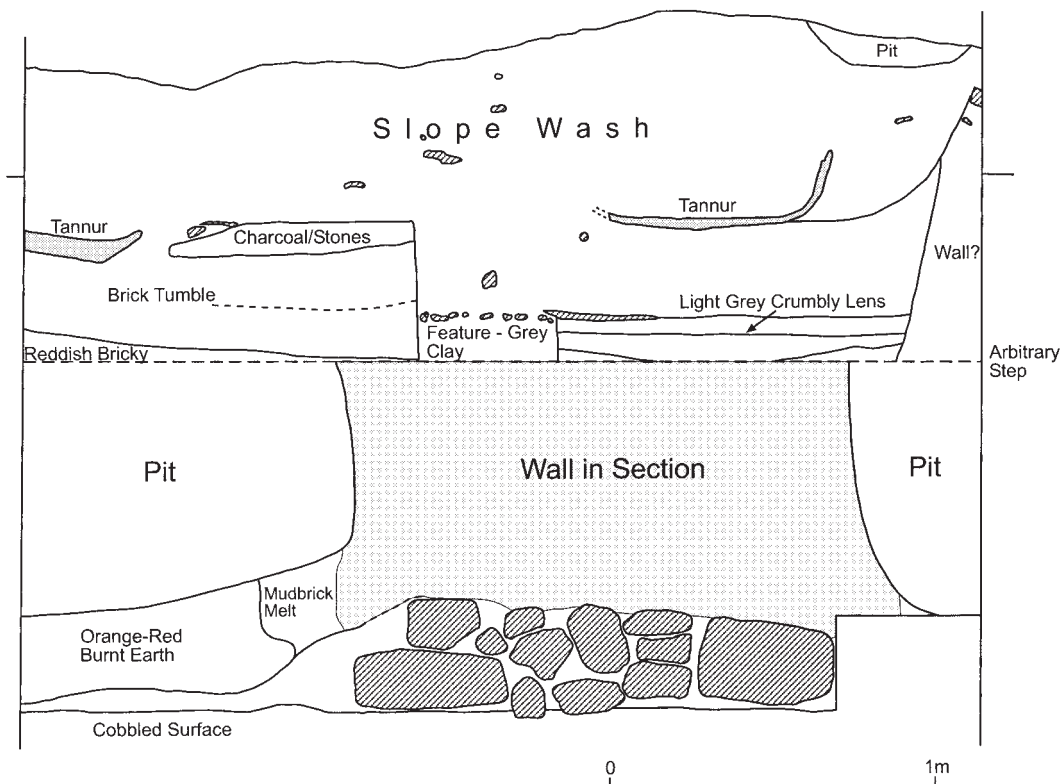


Fig. 12. Eastern section of Operation C.  
Arbitrary step marks the change in elevation between the two floors.

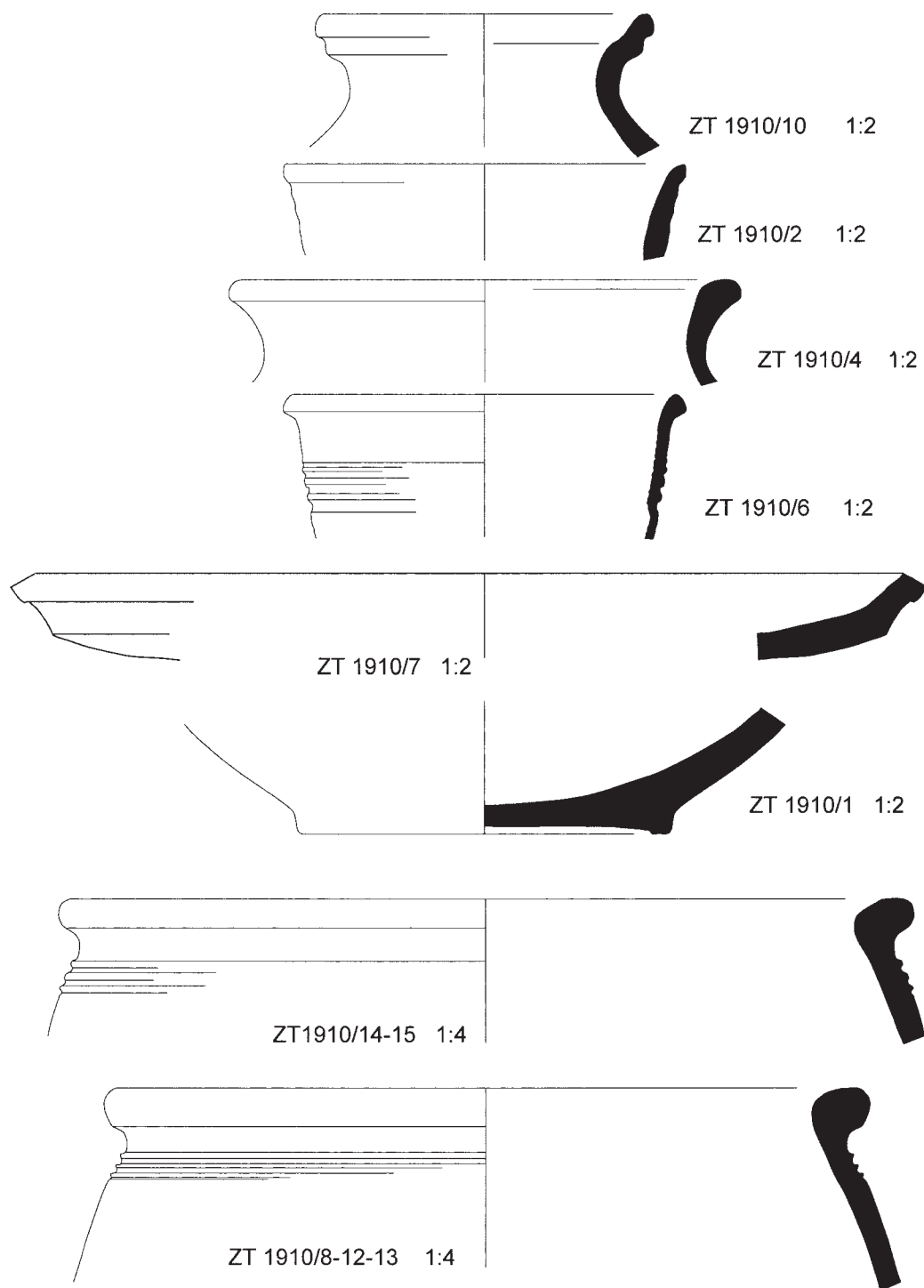


Fig. 13. Pottery group from floor deposit, Operation C (ZT 1910).



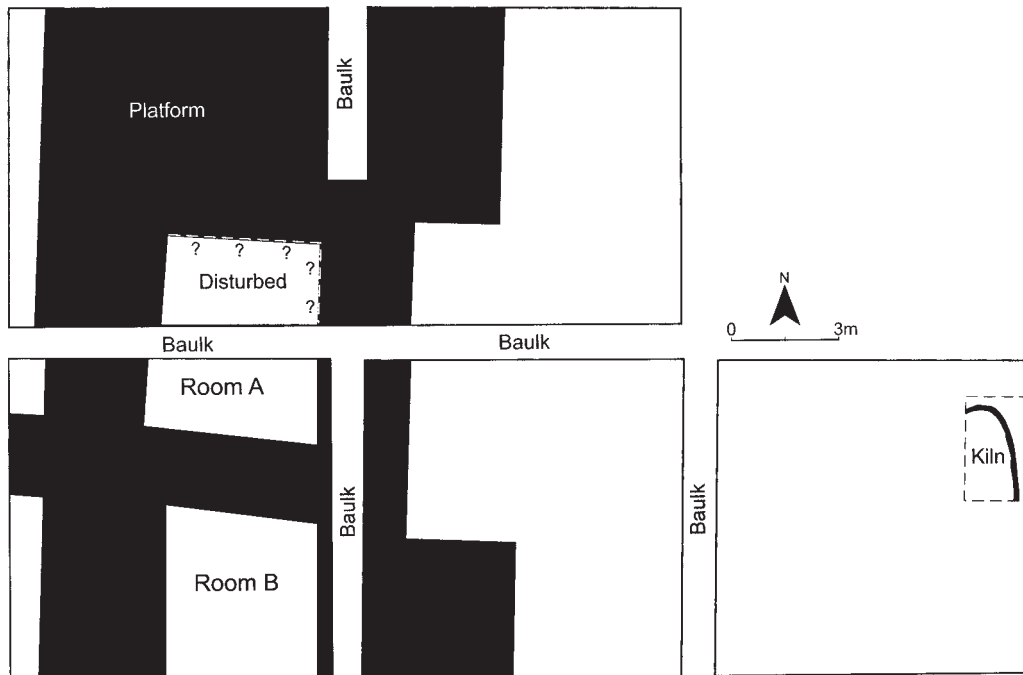


Fig. 14. Principal architectural remains in Operation D.

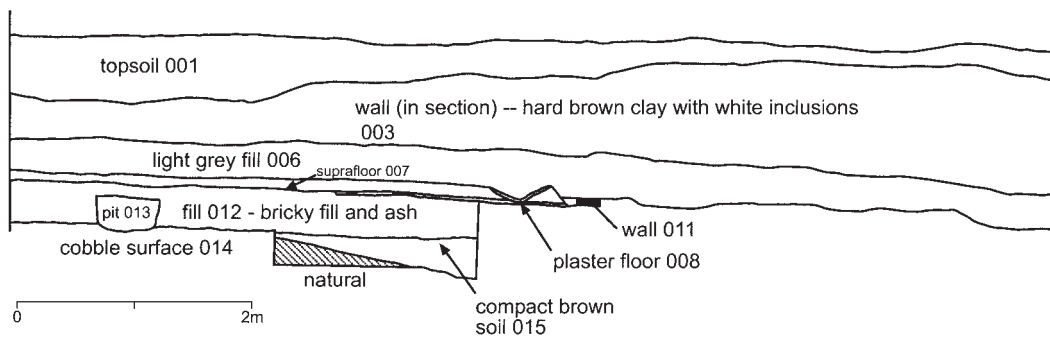


Fig. 15. Western section of grid square N1000 E1490, Operation D.



Fig. 16. Mudbrick platform, Operation D.



Fig. 17. Floor associated with gateway complex in grid square N1000 E1480, Operation D.

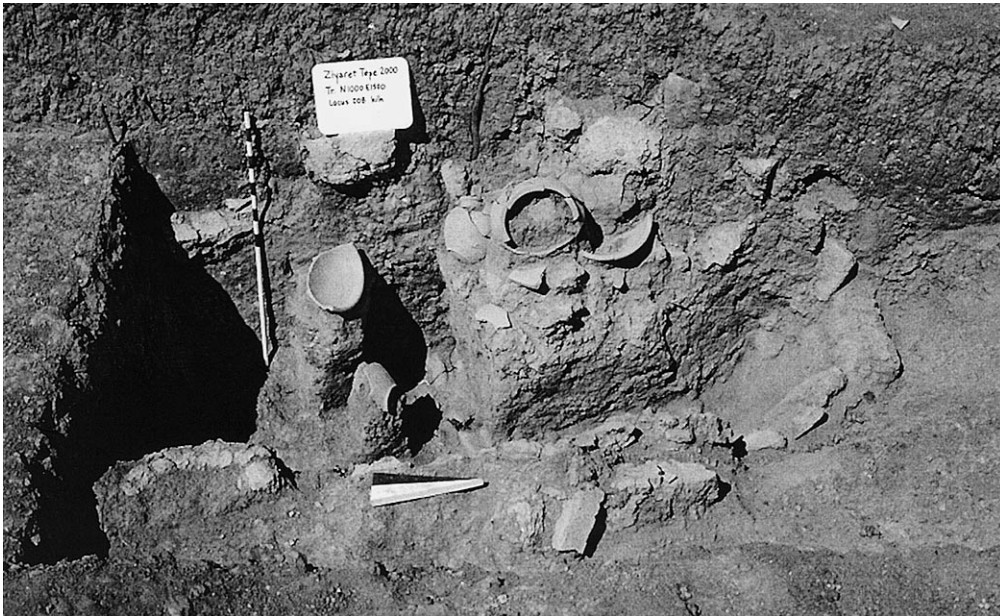


Fig. 18. Pottery kiln in grid square N1000 E1490, Operation D.

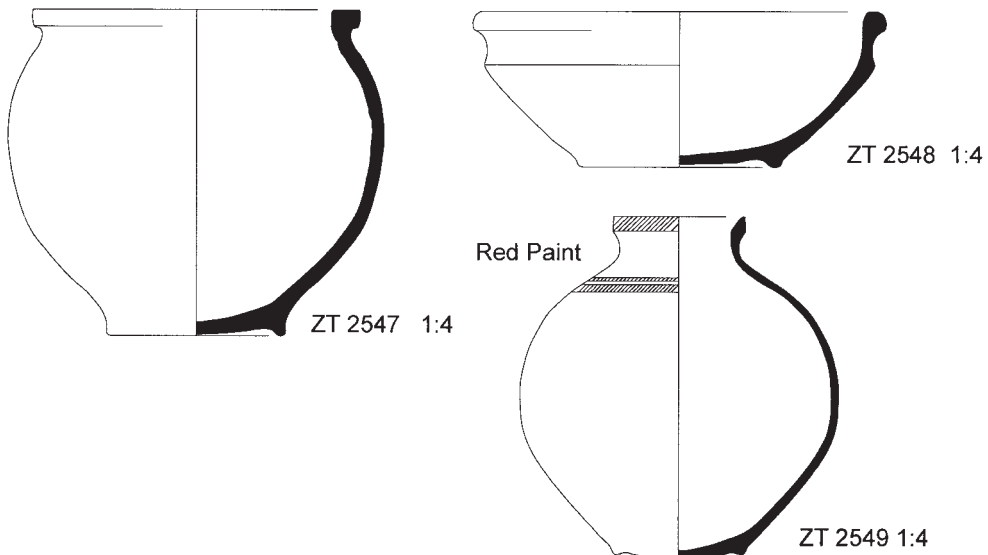


Fig. 19. Ceramic vessels from pottery kiln, Operation D (ZT 2547, ZT 2548 and ZT 2549).



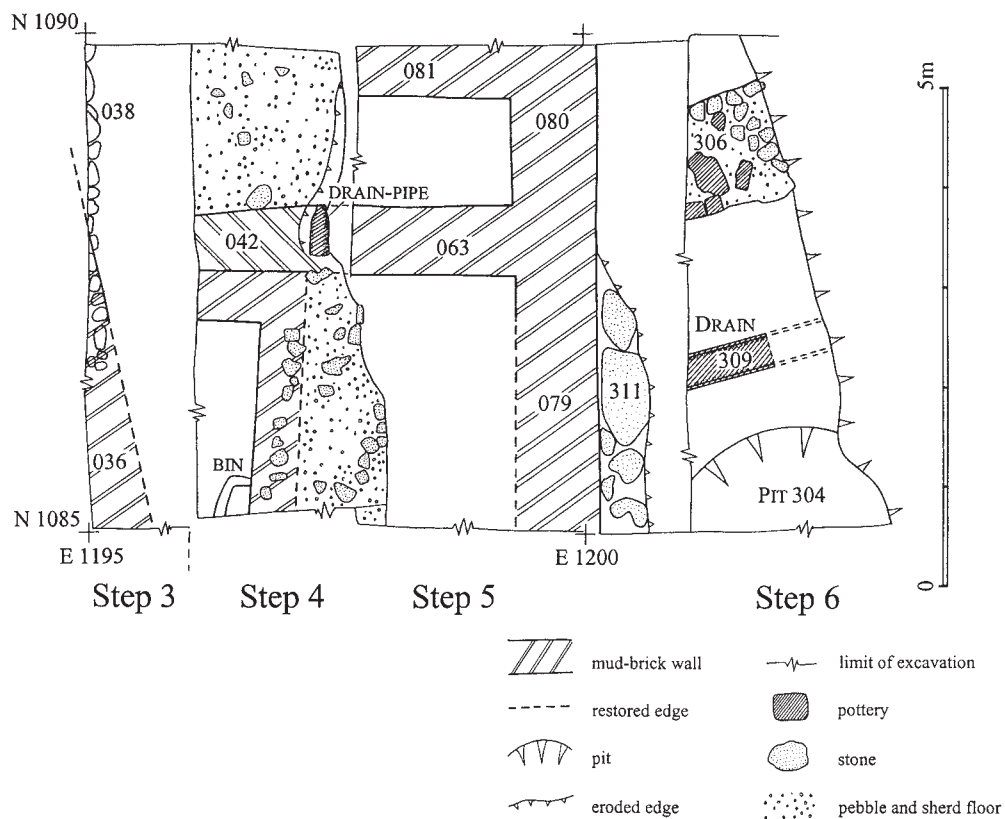


Fig. 20. Plan of principal features excavated in Steps 3 to 6 of Operation E.



Fig. 21. Brightly Burnt Building in Operation E.

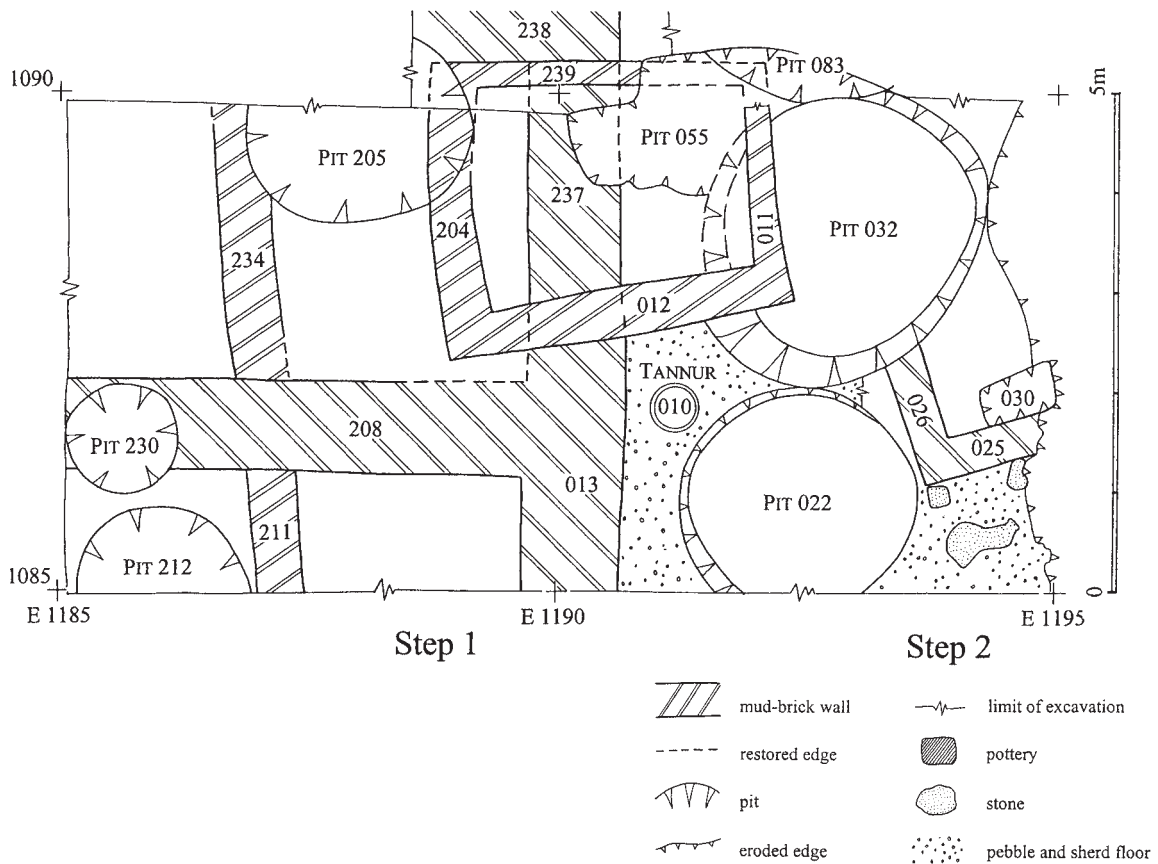


Fig. 22. Plan of principal features excavated in Steps 1 to 2 of Operation E.



Fig. 23. Location of Pit E-0032 sealed by later architecture. Operation E. Facing east.

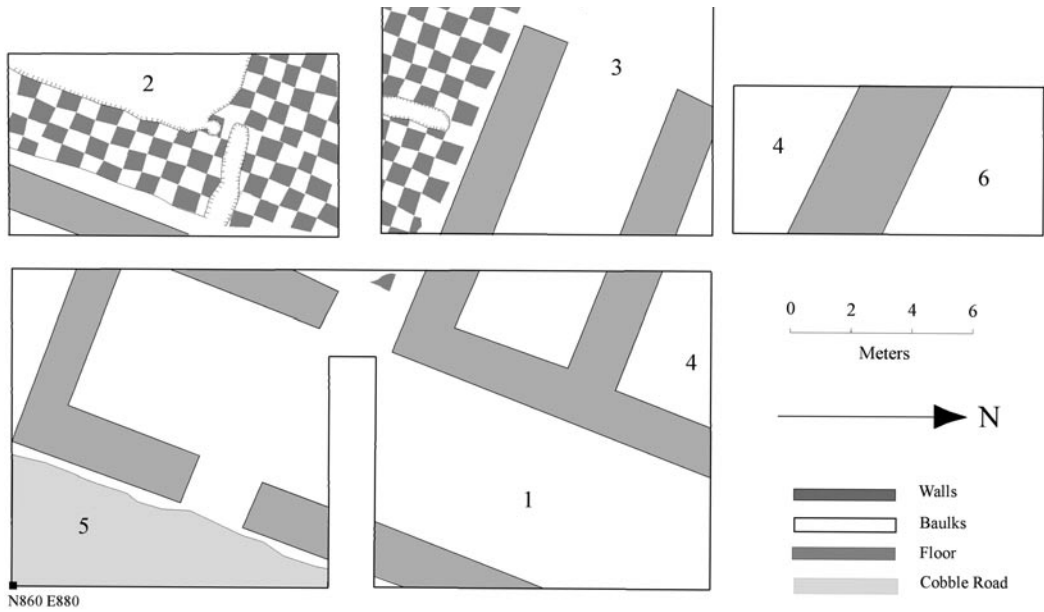


Fig. 25. Principal architectural remains in Operation G.



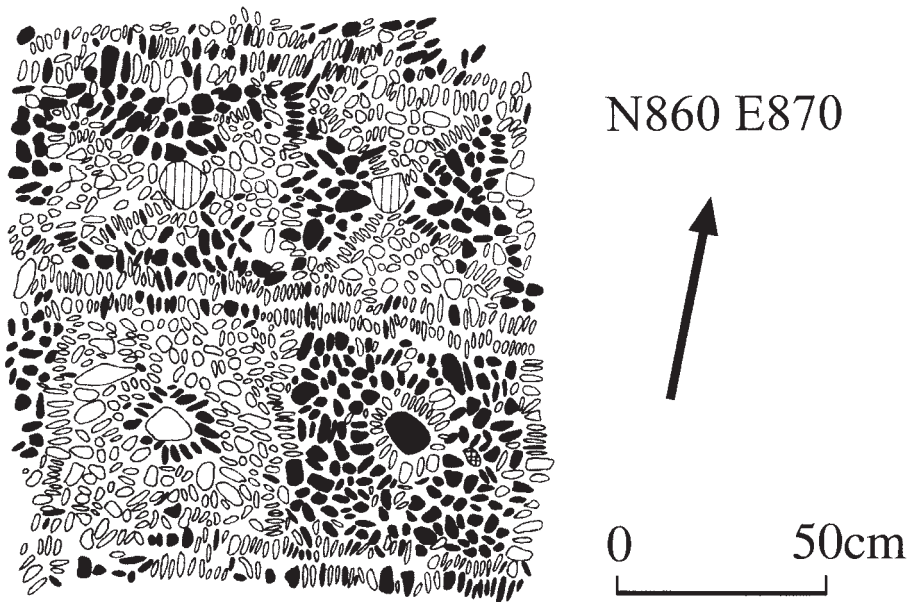


Fig. 26. Detail of pebble mosaic floor in lower town.  
Operation G.



Fig. 27. Building with pebble mosaic floor.  
Operation G.

## PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE HUMAN REMAINS FROM THE EARLY BRONZE AGE CEMETERY AT ILIPINAR-HACILARTEPE

*Songül Alpaslan-Roodenberg*

### Introduction

İlipınar Höyük, situated in the alluvial plain west of Iznik lake (fig. 1), has yielded a large number of human remains from different periods as there are pit-burials from the Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic occupation levels, a group of Late Chalcolithic pit-burials and many Byzantine tile-built tombs, all concentrated in the main sector of the mound<sup>1</sup>.

The Early Bronze Age burials were discovered on the west slope where for different reasons the excavations had extended. The surface where the burials were located is only two hundred square meters large, an area called LM8/9 (fig. 2), but as there are strong indications that the actual cemetery was larger, an extension of the investigation is planned.

The burials consist of huge ceramic jars or 'pithoi' measuring up to two meters high which were buried in horizontal position with their openings to the south/southwest. Several contained the remains of more than one individual, implying that the pithoi had been reopened for new burials. In such cases, the first remains of earlier burials were pushed aside or to the back of the jar or (partly) taken out. Indeed, loose detached human bones were encountered outside the pithoi. Burials of very young children merely consisted of a few big jar sherds on top of which the body rested.

The cemetery is supposed to have belonged to the settlement of Hacılartepe, a small village situated at a short distance to the southeast (fig. 1)<sup>2</sup>.

The method used in this study includes metric and non-metric data. Because of the fragmentary nature of the bones, the sex of adults was determined using several cranial and postcranial markers, of which in most cases only one or two were available. The reliability of the age estimation of adults was largely dependent on the preservation of the skeletons. Sex and age were assessed by the usual methods<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Publications on these collections are in preparation.

<sup>2</sup> For supplementary archaeological data see J. Roodenberg "Note on the Early Bronze Age pithos burials of Hacılartepe-İlipınar" (forthcoming).

<sup>3</sup> See Alpaslan-Roodenberg, 2001:1, 2.

## Results

The total number of skeletons unearthed between 1996-98 in the Early Bronze Age cemetery is eighteen comprising seventeen individuals from jars (a few from pits laid with jar fragments) and one from a simple pit dug in the earth.

## Adults

Burial UA was a large pithos containing skeletal remains from three adults (fig. 3 left). The position of the skeletons was not clear, since they were badly disturbed from soil action and animal burrowing. Bones were broken and incomplete, but at least one of the individuals could be identified as a man. Dental remains were broken and most parts were missing. The few isolated teeth had caries and were excessively worn. The very bad preservation of the bones did not allow further analysis. From this pithos the lower jaw bone, in two pieces, from a bovine was also extracted.

UB was a single primary burial of a female aged between 23-40 years lying in a contracted position (fig. 3 right). The dead was on her right side, oriented South-North and facing east. Near her hand there was a small jug. The bones were very fragile although it was one of the few better-preserved skeletons in the cemetery. The skull was deformed and smashed by the weight of the infiltrated earth. Her length was calculated at 1.55 cm ( $\pm 4.30$ ) (Trotter and Gleser, 1952, 1958); her age could only be assessed from the degree of obliteration of the cranial sutures (Acsady and Nemeskeri, 1970). On the skull three benign tumors were noticed. The largest, ca 2-2.5 cm in diameter was located on the right temporal (fig. 4), another, ca 1.5 cm in diameter, was on the coronal suture and the third, ca 1 cm in diameter, on the sagittal suture. On the occipital bone faint traces of porosis were observed as well. On the proximal tibia from both sides slight bony projections (entheseophytes) were present in the anterosuperior surface of the tibial tuberosity. Caries were absent, but slight alveolar atrophy occurred and molar teeth were worn until dentine exposure.

The large pithos of UN contained two individuals and a zygomatic bone from an earlier burial. Both skeletons, which belonged to a man and a woman, who laid in a contracted position with their heads to the south, were obviously primary burials (fig. 5). The man was lying on his right side facing east, and the woman on her left side facing west. Because of a thick chalky deposit on the bones, especially on the skulls, they could not be properly examined. Near the heads two jugs were found. A polished green stone axe was at the right side of the man and a pin was retrieved from the bottom of the pithos. Because of animal action the bones were broken and incomplete. A circular depressed skull fracture, ca 1.5 cm in diameter, was observed on the right parietal of the man (fig. 6). There were no traces of caries. Slight alveolar atrophy in the level of the front teeth and slight enamel polishing in most teeth were recorded. As the skull and the face of the woman were surprisingly well-preserved (fig. 7), her skull index (66.1) could be calculated (Knussmann, 1988). Dental examination showed that she had a considerable level of calculus formation (fig. 8), moderate alveolar atrophy and periodontitis. Dentine was exposed on most of the teeth. One case of



caries was seen on the upper molar teeth. Small bony projections (enthesophytes) were found on the superoanterior face of both patellas, which is a common finding in most populations.

Burial UI was totally disturbed. The skeleton belonged to an adult of whom only a few broken and incomplete long bones, isolated teeth and part of the left maxilla with molars were left. The skull of a dog was found near the jar.

Burial UG (fig. 9). In a middle-sized pithos a badly preserved skeleton with a smashed skull was lying in southeast-northwest direction. It was from an adult and probably belonged to a female judging from the mandible and the fragility of the bones in comparison to the female adults in this group. She lied on her left side in a contracted position. A small jug was close to the lower part of her legs. Tooth wear was considerable; two isolated molars were affected by caries. Most of the lower mandibular front teeth were lost antemortem (fig. 10).

UE was the burial of an adult who according to the tiny bones probably also belonged to the female sex (fig. 11). The skeleton was in a bad condition and the legs were missing. She was presumably in a contracted position on her left side oriented South-North. A small, decorated pot stood near her neck. All her teeth were found isolated. Slight calculus formation occurred, but no caries.

Burial UM (fig. 12). It was the best preserved skeleton, almost complete and belonged to a young man aged between 18-19 years. The age was determined from the skeleton's epiphyseal union (WEA, 1980). The deceased was oriented South-North and lied on his right side in a flexed position. In the same jar there was a second axis, probably left from a previous interment that had been removed in favour of the young man. Among the thorax bones a cloth pin appeared. Parallel to the young man's body but outside the pithos a dog skeleton had been deposited, of which the skull had been severed (fig. 13). The length of the boy was calculated at 164.9 cm ( $\pm 3.86$ ) (Trotter and Gleser, 1952, 1958). His teeth showed a slight calculus formation, but no caries.

UK consisted of a partly preserved skeleton buried in a simple hole in the ground (fig. 14). According to the skull, mandible and long bones, the broken and incomplete skeletal remains were probably from an adult male. The position of the body was abnormal: the head was oriented to the west and the right arm, in a right angle with the head, was stretched to the south. To say the least, this burial strongly deviates from the other interments. As it seems, this individual did not receive, for one reason or another, the usual respects paid to the other deceased: no customary body position, no container. Neither caries nor antemortem teeth loss had occurred. The right lower third molar was congenitally absent.

Another pit-burial was uncovered in square N8 (fig. 15)<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> During the 1998 season a burial was discovered in square N8, ca. 10 m. east of the cemetery. It probably belonged to a later phase of the Early Bronze Age. This was also a (primary) simple pit-burial, but judging from the pose of the dead, this was a conventional interment with the individual lying in a tightly flexed position on the right side with the head to the south. Most of the bones were broken and the skull was smashed. The deceased was an adult female, whose bones were coated with a chalky deposit which could not be removed properly. The absence of a burial container may be explained by the later date of this grave.

## Infants and Juveniles

Burial UL consisted of the bottom of a jar with a well preserved baby skeleton aged ca 1 or 2 months. In a circle around the burial the skull and other parts from a canine skeleton had been deposited.

UF was a similar burial containing the very deteriorated skeleton of a ca 2 months old baby. Among the bones, which were placed on big pottery sherds, a stone bead appeared.

Pithos burial UC. The skeleton in the jar was from a child aged ca 5 year ( $\pm 16$  months). The bones were in a bad state of preservation. Teeth were worn until dentine exposure, including the front teeth.

Pithos burial UH (fig. 16) included a nearly complete and well preserved skeleton of a child aged ca 5 years ( $\pm 16$  months). The body lied in a flexed position, the skull was almost complete. The child had been pushed with his head down to the bottom of the half broken pithos. Whether the upper part of the jar was destroyed when the the burials UI and UN were laid out and the body of the child pushed down the remaining half is not clear. Nonetheless, the body's pose is unusual. North of the jar a dog skull was buried (fig. 16). This child suffered from hydrocephalus (fig. 17). Wormian bones were observed on the occipital. The teeth were almost complete; the upper Lm1 had carries.

Burial UO. It was from a child aged ca 7 years ( $\pm 24$  months) whose badly preserved remains rested on a few big sherds (fig. 18).

Burial UD. The skeletons were from two children of ca 14 and 2 years old. The burials were fairly disturbed, the bones broken and incomplete (fig. 19).

To finish the list of human skeletons from the EBA burials mention should be made of two burials discovered in the occupation remains at Hacılartepe. These remains belonged to a newborn baby and a child aged ca 2-3 years<sup>5</sup>.

## Discussion and conclusions

Thirteen pithos burials and one pit burial (UK) were unearthed in the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Ilıpınar. Large jars such as UN and UA were used for 2 to 3 adult burials respectively, while medium size or smaller jars contained single adults (UB, UI, UG, UE, UM) and children (UH, UC). In one case, two children had been deposited in the same pithos (UD). A young child (UO) and two infants (UL, UF) were found lying on jar sherds only. Altogether there were eighteen individuals comprising a minimum of eleven adults (including 4 male, 4 female and 3 of unidentified sex) and seven juveniles and infants (Tables 1 and 2).

Quite a few burials were badly disturbed and not much was left of the skeletons. With few exceptions the state of the bones was bad: they were rather brittle and incomplete and erosion of the outer layer of the bones was considerable. Because of this bad preservation it

<sup>5</sup>In a small jar the bones of a newborn baby were found together with a few bone fragments of an approximately 2-3 years old child. There were no dental remains to confirm the child's age.

was excluded to collect sufficient anthropological data, for example the measurements from many of them could not be recorded.

The dead were buried with their head near the opening of the pithos. Although there is no total correspondance between the sexes and the side on which the individuals were found; there was a strong tendency to bury females on their left side (UN, UG, UE, but not UB) and males on their right side (UN, UM, UK). Furthermore, the head to feet orientation was always South-North or slightly deviated SSE-NNW. The same tendencies were prevalent in other EBA cemeteries of West Anatolia (Seeher, 2000: 24).

There is no doubt that most burials were primary, this in the anthropological sense that the skeletons were articulated when buried. Three pithoi (UA, UN, UM) showed evidence for secondary use, since there were still one or two bones left from an old burial.

Grave goods were common findings for EBA burials. Yet, the Ilipinar burials, because of their plain gifts, suggest that the local population had a low standard of living (Roodenberg, forthcoming). The remains of dogs deposited near the graves of infants and young people seem to indicate that deceased of their age were commonly interred with their pets.

The skulls were smashed and deformed by soil action and animal disturbances, and therefore skull indexes could not be calculated, except for one female (UN), which was estimated at 66.1 (dolichocranial). Because of the fragmented long bones, the length of the population could only be calculated for the skeletons from UB and UM. The length of the female skeleton from UB was estimated at 155 cm ( $\pm 4.30$ ) and of the young male from UM at 164.9 cm ( $\pm 3.86$ ).

Dental health of the adults in this small group was rather satisfactory. The majority of them had no caries. Calculus formation was slight except for the female of UN as was shown above. Alveolar atrophy and dentine exposure occurred often, the latter including adults and even two children aged ca 5 years old. One of those children also had caries. Since the age of most adults could not be calculated, the relation between age and dental health cannot be demonstrated. In general, the diet of the population must have been quite abrasive – dentine exposure occurred on both permanent and milk teeth, including front teeth.

A female aged between 23-40 (UB) had three benign tumours on her skull. They consisted of round bony tissue known as ivory osteoma. One male (UN) showed traces of trauma on his head. Enthesophytes were present in the anterosuperior surface of the tibial tuberosity (UB) and on the superoanterior face of both patellas (UN). These are common findings in most populations. Hydrocephalus, however, is rarely met in archaeological contexts. One child aged ca 5 years old (UH) suffered from this infirmity. The reason for its rare occurrence in antiquity may be that at birth congenital hydrocephalus would have caused the death of the child and the mother (Roberts & Manchester, 1995). The juvenile from UH may have developed this disease as a result of a brain infection from mumps or measles or from a tumor.

As stated above, adults constituted the majority of the individuals. Males and females, when taking into account that most of the sex and age marks were not preserved on the bones, were equal in number. The skeletons from UB and UM were relatively better preserved – the



age of the female individual from UB can be estimated between 23-40 years and the age of the young male from UM between 18-19 years. Juveniles and infants died at the following age: two infants at ca 2 months, two juveniles at ca 5 years and three at ca 2, 7 and 14 years.

The number of low aged children is small compared to the Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic populations of Menteşe and Ilıpınar. In these villages, where it appeared that the total population was buried, adult graves constituted a minority compared to the ones of children including infants (Alpaslan-Roodenberg, 2001). The explanation probably is that the high number of infants that commonly died during or shortly after birth were buried without ceremony in the village compounds. However, when specially organized graveyards at some distance from the habitation area such as the Hacılartep-Ilıpınar cemetery became a trend, infant corpses continued to be 'discarded' in domestic areas. The contemporary cemeteries from Sarıket-Demircihüyük (Wittwer-Backofen, 2000:259), İkiztepe (Wittwer-Backofen, 1987:181) and Semayük (Angel, 1966:255) with their low ratio of infant burials seem to confirm this trend.

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Table 1

**Adults**

| Burial Code | Grave type | Sex      | Age   | Orient. | Side | Grave goods | Spec. features  |
|-------------|------------|----------|-------|---------|------|-------------|-----------------|
| UA          | pithos     | male     | -     | -       | -    | bowl        | bovine mandible |
|             |            | unknown  | -     | -       | -    | -           | -               |
|             |            | unknown  | -     | -       | -    | -           | -               |
| UB          | pithos     | female   | 23-40 | S-N     | R    | cup         | bovine mandible |
| UN          | pithos     | female   | -     | SE-NW   | L    | pin, 2 jugs | -               |
|             |            | male     | -     | S-N     | R    | stone axe   | -               |
| UI          | pithos     | unknown  | -     | -       | -    | 3 pins      | -               |
| UG          | pithos     | female   | -     | SE-NW   | L    | jug         | -               |
| UE          | pithos     | female ? | -     | S-N     | L    | pin, pot    | -               |
| UM          | pithos     | male     | 18-19 | S-N     | R    | pin         | dog skeleton    |
| UK          | pit        | male     | -     | ?       | -    | -           | -               |

Table 2

**Juveniles and Infants**

| Burial Code | Grave type | Age         | Grave goods | Special features |
|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|
| UL          | pot sherds | ca 2 months | -           | dog skeleton     |
| UF          | pot sherds | ca 2 months | -           | -                |
| UC          | pithos     | ca 5 years  | jug, pot    | -                |
| UH          | pithos     | ca 5 years  | small pot   | dog skull        |
| UO          | pot sherds | ca 7 years  | -           | -                |
| UD          | pithos     | ca 14 years | -           | -                |
|             |            | ca 2 years  | jug         | -                |

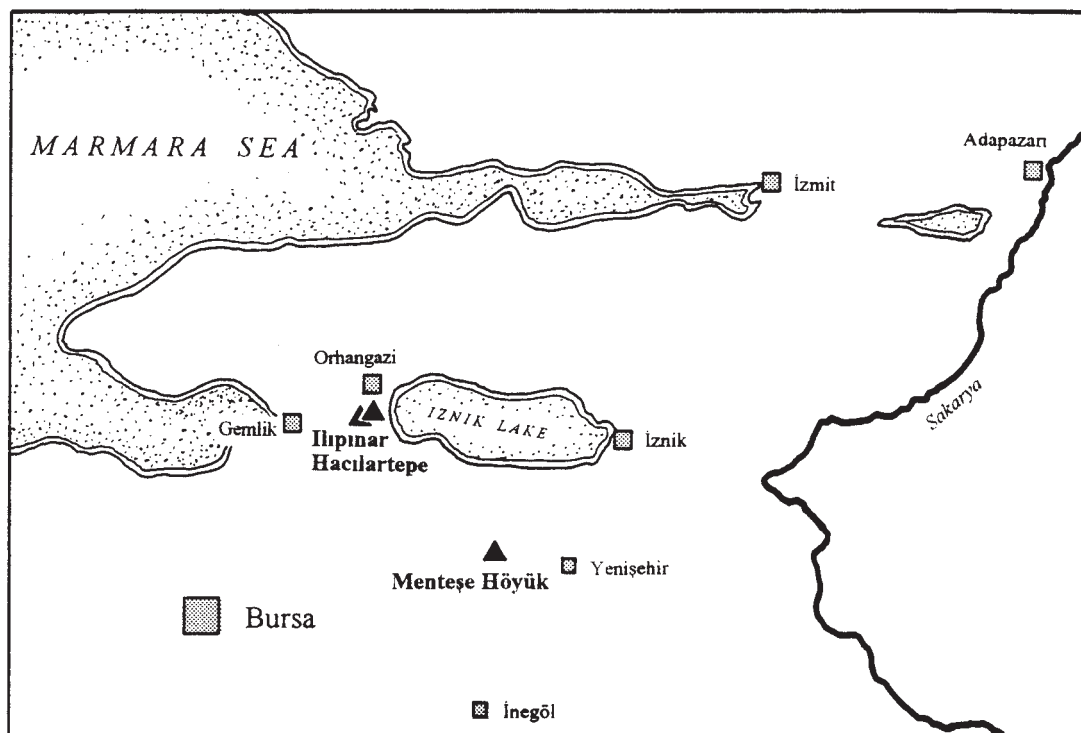
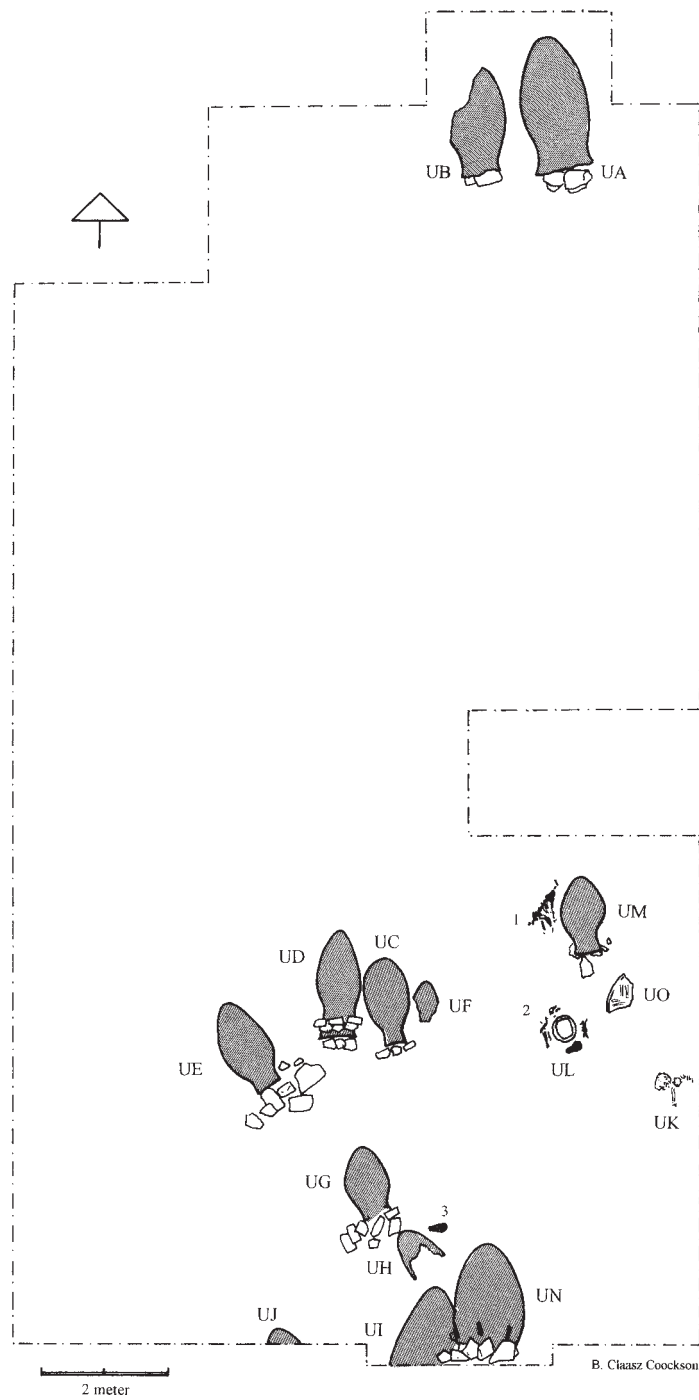


Fig. 1. Map of the eastern Marmara region.





1. dog's skeleton without skull.
2. dog's skull and scattered skeleton parts.
3. dog's skull.

Fig. 2. Plan of the excavated cemetery area.



Fig. 3. Burial UA left, UB right.

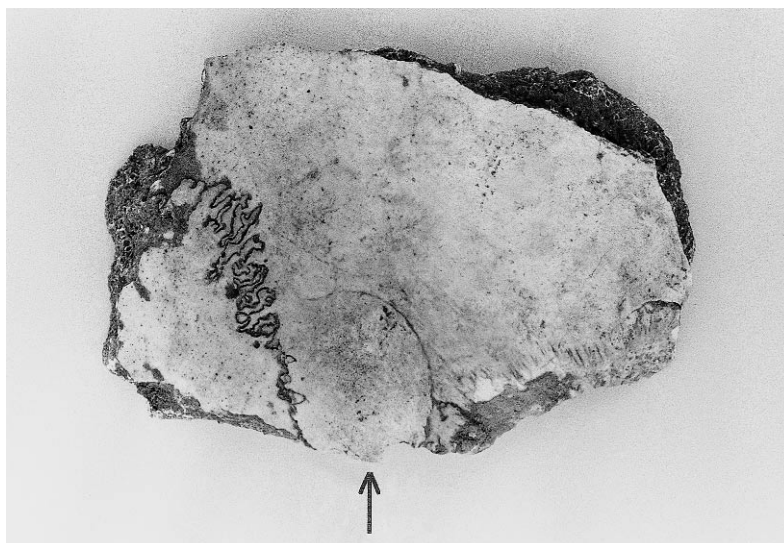


Fig. 4. Tumor on skull from UB.



Fig. 5. Double burial UN with grave goods.



Fig. 6. Trauma on male head from UN.





Fig. 7. Face of female from UN.



Fig. 8. Teeth with calculus in mandible from UN.

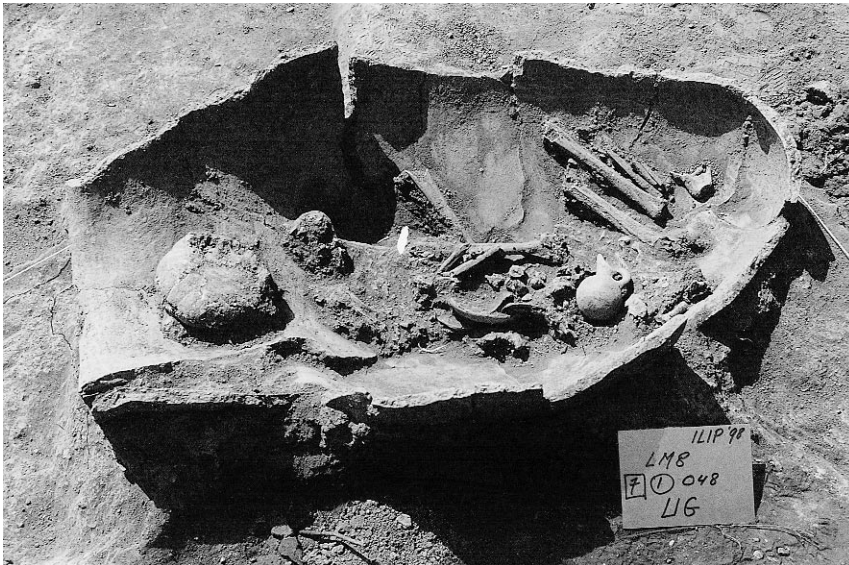


Fig. 9. Burial UG with jug.



Fig. 10. Mandible from UG: a.m. loss of front teeth.





Fig. 11. Burial UE with pot.



Fig. 12. Burial UM.



Fig. 13. Dog skeleton without head deposited next to burial of a young man.





Fig. 14. Pit-burial UK.



Fig. 15. Pit-burial UA from square N8.



Fig. 16. Burial UH; in the forefront a dog skull.

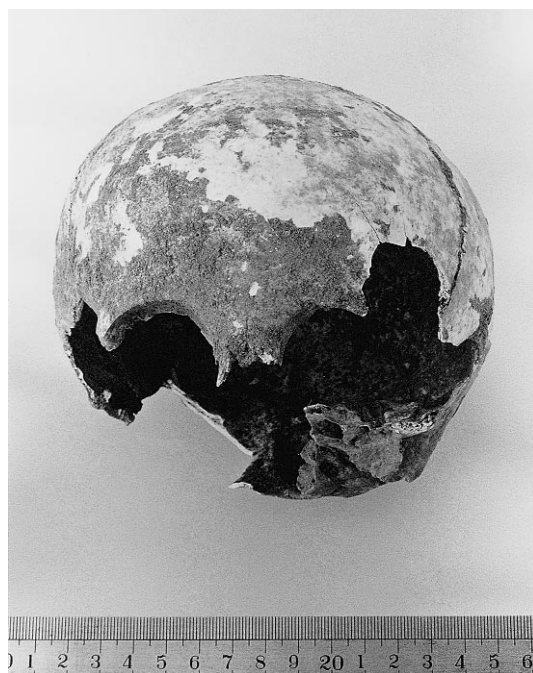


Fig. 17. Hydrocephalic skull from a child (UH).



Fig. 18. Burial UO deposited on big sherds.





Fig. 19. Burial UD with jug.



## THE 2000 AND 2001 SEASONS AT ÇADIR HÖYÜK IN CENTRAL TURKEY: A Preliminary Report

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### I. INTRODUCTION

The 2000 and 2001 seasons at Çadır Höyük represented the project's fifth and sixth seasons of work in the Kanak Su Basin (Fig. 1). We are greatly indebted to the many people and organizations whose contributions made these two seasons so successful.<sup>1</sup> In addition, an excellent staff and a loyal crew of workers from the villages of Peyniryemez and Yazılıtaş further facilitated an excellent season of excavation.<sup>2</sup>

Several goals had been determined for the 2001 season, the most important of which was the establishment of a long-term strategy for excavation and publication. The overall goal of excavation continued to be the exposure, investigation, and reconstruction of the region's environment through time and especially the role played by environment in

<sup>1</sup> Among those who contributed to our success were the National Science Foundation, The National Geographic Society, the Anatolian Research Foundation, Columbia Broadcasting System, Foundation for the Research and Exploration of Cultural Origins, SUNY Cortland Research Foundation, Hyundai Corporation, and various private donors.

<sup>2</sup> The Staff for the 2000 and 2001 seasons also included Amandina Anastassiades (Conservator), Lauren Bigelow (Northwestern University, Faunal Studies), Tamara Bower (illustrator), Scott Branting (State University of New York - Buffalo), Carlton Burr (Photographer and Computer specialist), James Carlson (Portland State University, Lithics), Gabriela Castro (State University of New York - Binghamton), Jeannette Cooper (State University of New York - Buffalo), Sarah Harris (Illustrator), Herrman Genz (German Institute of Archaeology - Istanbul), Samuel Paley (State University of New York - Buffalo, Assistant Director), Catherine Kuzucuoglu (French Institute of Archaeology in Istanbul), J. Aurelia Perry (State University of New York - Buffalo), Natasha Rakovic (Belgrade University), Jennifer Ross (Hood College), Carol Schneider (New York, House Manager), Alexia Smith (Boston University, Paleobotanical Studies), Sharon Steadman (State University of New York - Cortland), Bruce Verhaaren (University of Chicago/Argonne National Laboratory), Catherine Weitz (State University of New York - Buffalo). Ulf-Dietrich Schoop (University of Tuebingen) continued as a consultant on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age periods.

the development of culture in the Kanak Su Basin. Our aim to promptly publish our results has been accomplished through the auspices of *Anatolica*.<sup>3</sup>

The first phase of the work at Çadır Höyük has focused on the definition of the mound's chronological parameters and included the completion of work in the deep sounding (See Table 1). Four primary areas of excavation have been opened to facilitate the overall goals of the project (Fig. 2). More specific excavation goals for the 2001 season included a) the exposure of Chalcolithic remains that would be sufficient for specialty studies in this area; b) better articulation of the "Gate" and enclosure wall; c) the isolation of second millennium habitation levels intimated in previous reports (Gorny *et al.* 2000: 157-58) along with the development of a corresponding Hittite ceramic corpus; d) as well as the definition and Byzantine settlement's history and development.

At present, nearly every period of Çadır's long history has been exposed, but additional seasons will be needed to define each of these periods in sufficient detail to be useful. While we are far from developing a definitive chronology for the site, we can use the following paradigm as a temporary chronology for Çadır Höyük. Please note that the numbers used in previous publications for the phases and levels have been changed to reflect the expanding complexity of settlement at Çadır Höyük.

## II. THE EXCAVATIONS

### Area 1: The Eastern Trench

The 2001 season witnessed the reopening of Area 1, the eastern step-trench. No work had been done in Area 1 since 1994 (Gorny *et al.* 1995:76), but after cleaning the baulks, remnants of the walls found in 1994 were quickly located under the wash from the slope. Wall F 6 remains especially interesting as it dates to the Old Hittite period and was found this year to have bovine horns neatly buried next to it for a purpose that remains unclear. As noted in *Anatolica* 21, wall F 6 had been covered by a thick layer of orange mudbrick detritus with later period room F 5 built on top of it.<sup>4</sup> Once excavation com-

<sup>3</sup> Preliminary publications resulting from the Alişar Regional Project include R. L. Gorny, The 1993 Season at Alişar Höyük. *Anatolica* 20 (1994): 191 - 202. R. L. Gorny, Greg McMahon, Sam Paley, and Lisa Kealhofer, The Alişar Regional Project: 1994 Season. *Anatolica* 21 (1995): 68-100; M. Chernoff, Preliminary Report on the Botanical Remains from Çadır Höyük (1994 Season). *Anatolica* 22 (1996): 159 - 179; R. L. Gorny, Greg McMahon, Sam Paley, Sharon Steadman and Bruce Verhaaren, The 1998 Alişar Regional Project Season. *Anatolica* 25 (1999): 68 - 100; R. L. Gorny, Greg McMahon, Sam Paley, and Sharon Steadman, The 1999 Alişar Regional Project Season. *Anatolica* 26 (2000): 153 - 171; Alison Snyder, Re-constructing the Anatolian Village: revisiting Alişar. *Anatolica* 26 (2000): 173 - 191; and Hermann Genz, Iron Age Pottery from Çadır-Höyük. *Anatolica* 27 (2001).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gorny 1995: 75-76. Note the misprint on page 75 that lists this as F 8. The feature number (5) is correct in the plan on p. 96, Fig. 16b).).

menced in 2001, we decided to come down on this debris from wall F 5 in an attempt to clarify the stratigraphy of this area.

As we began to work our way through the massive amount of orange burned material our ideas about its relationship to Wall F 6 began to change.<sup>5</sup> While we originally thought that the burned mudbrick had come from Classical or Iron Age walls located further up the slope, the wider exposure indicated that the burned mudbrick had fallen from F 20, another Hittite wall. This wall was situated about 3 m higher up the slope and measured 1.35 m in width. It had been constructed with large stones on both the inside and the outside while smaller stones placed in between as fill (Fig. 3). Wall F 20 is situated approximately 1 m below the small room formed by F 5. An intervening and undated oven installation lies between the two features and is cut into by the foundation trench of wall F 5. The appearance of Hittite levels in this area of the eastern trench was not unexpected as we found evidence during the 1994 season of Hittite occupation mixed in the debris associated with F 5.

F 20 was situated well above and inside of wall F 6 and maintained a similar orientation. Excavations suggest that wall F 20 dates to approximately the same time as wall F 6, a structure that we had dated to the Old Hittite Kingdom in the 1995 report. From its position on the mound, F 20 appears to have been constructed later, though this may be an example of contemporary structures climbing the slope of the mound. EB III materials (and probably EB II) were noted in the fill associated with both walls and must lie further below. A variety of stone tools were found in association with wall F 20, along with large numbers of Ferzant-style Old Hittite pottery sherds. This would seemingly date the wall to the Old Hittite or possibly even Old Assyrian Colony Age (Middle Bronze). Two calibrated radiocarbon dates from the area of F 20 support an Old Hittite - Middle Bronze scenario (calibrated 1750-1410 BC and 1910 - 1530 BC). While a picture of the Old Hittite period is now emerging for this area in terms of both pottery and architecture, the presence of Old Assyrian Colony Age sherds in the same mix also promises more definitive Middle Bronze Age remains.

## **Area 2: The Northeast Terrace**

Work in Area 2 is part of an attempt to define the cultural parameters of the terrace and to provide a venue for the study of the site's later periods of settlement. Although we had opened a sounding on the terrace in 1994 that produced evidence of Classical occupation, we were not convinced that the terrace had been left unoccupied in earlier periods. During the 2001 season we took the opportunity to explore the terrace further in hopes of detecting earlier periods of occupation. A square was opened at a point on the terrace that was aligned with the center of the main mound's slope and in an area where large amounts of pottery and building remains could be observed. We initially cleared a 10 x 10 meter square of brush and immediately observed building foundations.

<sup>5</sup> This is the area in which a metal knife blade had been found in 1994 (Gorny 1995: 75, and 97, Fig. 17).



The foundations uncovered during this procedure initially appeared to be a large stone platform, but further clearing of the building revealed the foundations of sizable buildings covered by volumes of stone rubble, presumably from the fallen walls (Fig. 4). Judging from the topography of the terrace, along with areas of heavy rock tumble and intense sherd scatters, it seems that this building is just one of several situated along the crest of the terrace rising to the northeast. The exact nature of these buildings is uncertain, but judging from materials found near the ruins, they may represent an agricultural community of some sort, though we have not ruled out anything, including buildings with a public or religious purpose. A cellar found next to the building contained numerous large pithoi that could have been used for wine or grain storage in either a public or private artifact. Numerous metal artifacts found in the vicinity of the excavated building, however, included farm items such as pins, cow bells, hinges, nails, and bucket parts. A coin found outside the building dates to the reign of Constantine (Ducas) X (Fig. 5), and since this ruler reigned during the 11<sup>th</sup> Century (1059-1067), we have an apparent date for the structure. More definitive dates, however, await the efforts of another year.

### **Area 3: The Southern Exposure**

1. Chronology: The 2001 season focused on the collection of radiocarbon samples from the horizontal exposure in Area 3. These samples indicate that Çadır Höyük was settled from the end of the sixth millennium down to the end of the Chalcolithic and into the Early Bronze Age. An ancillary goal of our team was to better define the problematic transition between the Chalcolithic period and the Early Bronze I (EB I), an issue that radiocarbon samples are beginning to address. So, while we are a long way from a definitive chronology, our radiocarbon current dates are helping us to break down the mound's complex stratigraphic into firmly attested periods of settlement. Charts illustrating these dates can be found at the end of this report (See Tables 2-3).<sup>6</sup>

2. Square 770.890 (Room 5): Ongoing efforts in 770.890 witnessed the exposure of several layers directly beneath the Late Classical remains. On the northern side of the trench we encountered a sealed layer of Iron Age pottery (mostly Middle Iron Age) and as this first millennium layer was removed, we encountered F 46 on the north side of the trench. The feature consisted of a hard-packed layer of soil that, in turn, sealed a lower layer of fist-sized stones (Fig. 6). The layer of soil, which appears to be deliberately laid, can still be seen in the section. The date of the feature remains uncertain, but Hittite pottery associated with the stone structure clearly differentiates the structure from the first millennium layer above it and suggests a Hittite construction. The closest parallel structures are the recently discovered grain silos on Büyükkaya at nearby Boğazköy-Hattuşa (cf. Seeher

<sup>6</sup> Area 3 is composed of squares 770.890, 770.900, 760.890, 760.900, 780.890, and 770.880.

1998: 224-230; 1999: 332-336). This structure is only partially intact, however, and its current appearance leaves thoughts about its function mostly to the imagination.<sup>7</sup>

As we attempted to further articulate this stone construction during the 2001 season, we discovered that it apparently had been dug into the Chalcolithic Level Ia1 settlement, the outlines of which could be detected in the soil. Room 5 has an entrance in the eastern half of the structure and is defined by mudbrick walls. The floor is littered with an abundance of *in situ* Chalcolithic pottery that apparently had been left on the floor as the residents fled in haste. The pottery consists of both fruitstands and omphalos-style bowls that were finely fashioned, many being made of an eggshell ware that does not appear to have been used as everyday utilitarian pottery. Radiocarbon samples established a date for the room at 3650-3490 BC (Cal BP 5600-5290).

3. Square 77.900 (The "Burned Room"): In square 77.900 we noted significant amounts of ash and charcoal in past seasons. Initial excavations during the 2000 season confirmed that the eastern half of the square did, indeed, contain a thick accumulation of charred debris, especially in an enclosed space that was dubbed Room 1 or the "Burned Room". This space is part of a larger complex of buildings that is rapidly emerging across the southern slope of Çadır Höyük (Fig. 7). Work during the 2000 seasons isolated this room, as well as several others, and revealed portions of a burned thatch roof with impressions of the grillwork left in the clay. Several pieces of charred poplar uprights that once held up the thatch roof were also found. Many of the stones in the area had been turned to a yellowish-white ash by the obviously fierce fire. Although the room itself was not completely excavated in 2000, the remains of several pithoi were found sitting on an earthen surface. A continuation of work in this room during the 2001 season yielded large quantities of economic remains from the earthen surfaces and these samples are now being analyzed by a variety of specialists. The combination of evidence from this room, at least up to that point, suggests that the room was actually an outside courtyard of some sort that had been covered with a thatched roof and possibly used for storage.

Just west of Room 1 we also uncovered Room 3, a small room within which we exposed a series of smashed pots that was not unlike what we found in Room 5 of square 77.890 (above). These vessels were uncovered in five distinct findspots (Figs. 8) and apparently belong to Level Ia2 as one of the findspots consisted of pottery found immediately beneath the Level Ia1 interior wall. The ceramic repertoire in this room once again consisted of fruitstands and omphalos bowls, and although the vessels have not yet been reconstructed, there appear to be at least 10 - 15 restorable pieces in all. It should be noted that the bowl portion of one fruitstand was coated with yellow ochre, perhaps an indication of some ceremonial use.

<sup>7</sup>Some grain did come from floatation samples taken from the soil immediately above the rocks, but not enough to definitively say that this construction was a silo,

4. The Gate Structure and Enclosure Wall: In 2000 we began work in square 760.890. These efforts produced evidence a building that was probably part of a large construction project intersecting the enclosure wall, possibly to form a Level Ib city “gate” building (Fig. 9). The passage between the “gate’s” two exterior walls is filled soil deposits and tells the history of the area after its Level Ib destruction. The current hypothesis states that this is a “gate” building, partially because both sides of the “gate” structure are buttressed by two levels of buildings with thickly layered plaster floors that we originally called “plaster basins” due to their shape and construction (Gorny *et al.* 1999: 152 and 175, Fig. 6). It now appears that the upper levels of plastering belong to the later floors of Ia towers or guardrooms, their concave basin shape being determined by the many layers of plaster lipped up against the walls of the rather small rooms.<sup>8</sup> What we described as Level 3 plaster floors in the same report (Gorny *et al.* 2000: 155), are now understood to represent the guardroom floors associated with an earlier Ib version of the “gate” building.

In order to better understand the Level Ia period “gate” we began to remove the flimsy walls uncovered during our 1998 work in 770.890. To our surprise, there was a rather large structure just beneath them that were designated as Level Ia2. In one case (wall F 22), the later Level Ia1 wall (F 26) had been built directly on top of the Ia1 walls, but that was the only case where we found that to be true. The Level Ia2 structure was built of large uncut fieldstones, quite different from the weak foundations of the Ia1 walls. A layer of debris lies immediately below this structure, clearly separating Level Ia from Level Ib. Little was done with this area in 2001 as we worked to clear areas that surrounded the building.

We now know that the Ia walls in 770.890 formed a room that was situated above a debris layer that intervened between it and Level Ib. Pottery inside this room, south of the wall, included a variety of sherds from large Chalcolithic pots with one vessel found still standing *in situ*.<sup>9</sup> Based on this vessel and the many large body sherds strewn across this area, it seems that the room had been used as some sort of storage space for large vessels, though it may be that a wide variety of sherds were haphazardly tossed into the room at some later time, perhaps during its destruction. Of note in this mass of pottery was the discovery of a low-spouted vessel shown to be associated with the beginnings of milk production (cf. Schoop 1998, Fig. 2; perhaps Duru 1996: Plate 77, nos. 2-4).<sup>10</sup> The solid Ia building was erected immediately above the Level Ib “gate,” but further excavation is necessary to determine the full extent of the building and its relationship to the “gate” that preceded it. The *in situ* storage jar was sitting on a white plaster surface separating it from

<sup>8</sup> The floors had been replastered many times, but even after sieving and flotation, they produced very little in the way of cultural remains. One thing that did derive from the floors was our first nice chipped stone blade, which was found on one of the floors of the east room in 1994 (Gorny *et al.* 1995: 77). This lack of material remains was puzzling, especially if the “basins” had been used for storage, but their use as an antechambers or guardroom may explain the barrenness of these floors.

<sup>9</sup> On the north side of the wall, there were very few sherds.

<sup>10</sup> Note that if the sherds documented in Duru (1996) represent the same vessels as noted by Schoop (1998), they would have been printed upside-down.



the Level Ib burning below (i.e. above the gate). The eastern wall of the “gate” is cut almost to its foundation, evidently by work undertaken to build the upper room. This indicates that the storeroom was somewhat later than the “gate.” The construction of this structure may have cut off the top of the Level Ib “gate,” which we noted was also cut on its eastern side by a later intrusion (Gorny *et al.* 2000: 156).

Two burials discovered in 2000 had been set into the Period Ia “gate. The burials themselves had been placed in pots and were located very near the burials found in 1998 (Gorny 1999: 152, 176, Figs. 5 and 7). Although the two burials were in larger Black Burnished pots, they are almost certainly to be understood as contemporary with the 1998 burials, which I now believe were later than the Level Ia settlement and may well date to a “transitional period” near the beginning of the third millennium. The individuals in the burials also appear to be children, like those found in 1998, and while no grave goods were found with those earlier burials, a small copper bracelet found this year probably comes from one of the 1998 burials and is similar to those found in contemporary Alişar burials (cf. von der Osten 1937a: 38, Figs. 43 and 45, Fig. 52). Similarly, two copper pins with double-spiral heads reminiscent of Troy IIg examples were found in the same area, not far from the new burials (Fig. 10), and may have come from one of the burials. All these burials appear to belong to a period after the last known Chalcolithic building level at Çadır and are now labeled as “transitional” with the last actual Chalcolithic building level now designated Level Ia.<sup>11</sup> If the spiral pin has any chronological significance, then the “transitional period” probably belongs to the early third millennium and would be contemporary with Troy II. Work in this area during 2001 was confined to the western part of the square where we attempted to bring the whole area into phase by removing the balk and examining links between this area and the Mudbrick platform (below)

5. Squares 760.880 and 770.880 (The Mudbrick Platform): Square 770.880 was opened during the 2000 season just west of our original investigations on the south slope as a means of exposing more of the Chalcolithic settlement and several surprises awaited us there. In the first place, we immediately encountered two parallel mudbrick-topped wall foundations (Fig. 11) oriented diagonally through the square in the direction of Çaltepe across the valley. The two parallel walls are somehow connected to a large mudbrick platform that was evident throughout the square. It was difficult to understand the connection between walls and the mudbrick because of the intense pitting that occurred in later times on the southern side of the square, but we suspected that these two walls were part of a larger construction that included the small porch and steps noted in 1998 and 1999 (cf. Gorny *et al.* 1999: 154-55; 2000: 156). That structure was composed of flat paving stones covered with mud. Several steps proceeded from the platform up into the western baulk, presumably connected to the mudbrick structure in square 770.880. Abutting the east side

<sup>11</sup> We are assuming for now that the burials are Late Chalcolithic, though I have some reservations, especially with our radiocarbon dates and the fact that we do not know exactly what constitutes an Early Bronze I pottery assemblage.

of the small porch was another small mudbrick construction, perhaps an extension of the porch that displayed a thick well-laid mudbrick floor. The removal of the overlying baulk in 2001 helped clarify the eastern extend of the construction, but the larger portion remains hidden by the partially excavated northern half of the square. This area will be cleared in 2002. The function of this area seems clearly linked with structures immediately to the east, and although its function remains unclear, the numerous fruitstands found in this area over the past few seasons may hint at its use.

The terraced mudbrick structure itself is oriented directly towards Çaltepe across the Eğri Su and I suspect that it functioned as either a communication center for passing along messages or a type of high place or *bema* connected with the local cult. The date of the structure appears to be Chalcolithic Ia, but like so many other constructions on the site, it had a Ib predecessor that is separated from its successor by nearly a half meter of burned material.

6. The Hittite House: While we understood the mudbrick platform in squares 760.880 and 770.880 to be a Chalcolithic period structure, its dating is complicated by numerous remains from the Early Bronze and Hittite periods. Further examination of the mudbrick structure revealed the greater part of a room constructed with stone wall foundations and an associated plaster floor upon which sat the greater portion of a large Hittite bottle (cf. Fig. 11). Unfortunately, the southern end of the room was lost along the edge of the slope in that area and a variety of pits had been dug into the area. The northern part of the room yielded a great deal of Hittite pottery. In fact, a Hittite bottle found leaning against the rear wall of the room was nearly complete. Its rim, however, had been severed by a tumbling rock and was not recovered. Once the vessel was emptied of its content we discovered an unidentified crystalline substance attached to the inside wall of the vessel.<sup>12</sup> The precise date of the Hittite materials is unclear, but they are probably dated near the beginning of the Hittite Empire Period. A Middle Assyrian cylinder seal from the area shows Mitannian influences and seems to be dated around the 15th-14th centuries (Fig. 12). This would make it roughly contemporary with the Kassite period cylinder seal from Alishar (Gelb 1935, OIP 27, d 2235, PL L, no. 64; von der Osten 1937, Fig. 246, d2235; Gorny 1990: 366-369, Pl. 57, no. 64; and Gorny 1995: 165 and 179, Fig. 10).<sup>13</sup>

7. The Deep Sounding: The deep sounding has been the focal point of our efforts since the project's inception (Gorny *et al.* 1995; 1999, 2000). The primary intent of that project has been to gain a chronological definition of Çadır's earliest periods by means of a clear vertical sequence. In this we have continued to make progress. Wall 42 (Level 3a), for

<sup>12</sup> The substance was scraped from the vessel walls and will be sent to Patrick McGovern at the University of Pennsylvania MASCA labs where the contents of the vessel are to be examined for residues such as tartaric acid.

<sup>13</sup> Please note that this seal was inadvertently mislabeled in Gorny 1995 as being from "Gelb, OIP 29, Fig. 154, d1622." That citation should have read as cited in the text of this paper (above).

instance, was found in 1999 (Gorny *et al.* 2000: Fig. 5) and provided the first evidence that Çadır's sequence stretched back into the fifth millennium.

Wall 42 was removed at the beginning of the 2000 season and approximately 10 cm under it we encountered wall 43 (Level 3b), which displayed the same northwest - southeast orientation as wall 42 (Fig. 13). This wall was of a different construction, however, in that it was really two walls built back-to-back. The more easterly of the two walls consisted of a double row of large fieldstones that were filled with soil in-between. The second wall was laid immediately west of the first and was also had a double row of stones, but these were smaller and the wall foundation much more regular in pattern than the first. Although several centimeters of soil separated the two wall foundations, its possible that wall 43 was really the lower course of wall 42 situated immediately above it. The soil above wall 43, however, was a fine brown mixture that appears to have been laid by natural causes and suggests a period of abandonment after the final destruction of that structure. We also discovered wall 44 (Level 3c) approximately 20 cm below wall 43, but in contrast to walls 42 and 43, which displayed back-to-back walls, 44 was only a single two-stone wide wall.

Walls 42 - 44 are built one on top of the other and seem to have some sort of relationship. They do not seem to be separated chronologically by much time, but are not necessarily rebuildings of the same wall. The walls are apparently cross walls and do not represent any sort of outer defensive construction, though they could well be part of a casemate. All three walls belong to the Late Chalcolithic period and continue to be characterized by the same Black Burnished pottery that has been so prevalent in the levels above. A radiocarbon samples found just above wall 42 at the end of the 1999 season provided dates of 3705 to 3620 BC (Cal BP 5655 to 5570) for that excavated level. Unfortunately, there is no radiocarbon date for wall 42 itself, but a sample taken during the dismantling of wall F 43 last season yielded dates from 5220 to 4940 BC (Cal 7170 - 6890 BP) for the succeeding wall. Another sample was taken from Locus 65 that was the matrix into which wall F 44 was cut. That locus gave dates of 4720 - 4480 BC (Cal BP 6670 - 6430). Based on this evidence, therefore, it would appear that this series of walls in our deep sounding corresponds to a period of time near the beginning of the fifth millennium BC, perhaps spanning a period of 200-300 years.

A sidelight related to the excavation of the deep sounding was the discovery in the wet-sieving of materials that seems to have been part of a bead-making workshop that came from a pit found in the bottom of the sounding. Included in the assemblage was an obsidian drill, bone beads, and prepared bone. The materials from this intriguing discovery came from Locus 66, soil removed from a pit that had been dug into Locus 65, and based on the dates for Locus 65 (above), they provided the earliest evidence yet for craft production at Çadır.

Immediately below these levels, at ca. 1032.018 m. the soil began to change and we found stray sherds that were a highly burnished brown color instead of the usual Black Burnished wares. The same area also produced what appeared to be sherds from an unbaked clay vessel. Finally, we reached a layer of pebbly brown soil at 1029.848 m in which no cultural materials were found and which presumably marks virgin soil at the bottom of the



sounding. We continued through this matrix for another meter and a half and discontinued excavation at 1028.348 m or just over 8 m in depth from the original slope of the mound. Continued excavation in 2001 further strengthened the belief that this is virgin soil, though we plan to do a final coring in order to be sure.

In summary, it appears that the mudbrick platform and associated architecture in this horizontal exposure were built on the highest part of the underlying natural hill and that it consequently defined the edge of the mound in this particular area. Substantial stone and mudbrick architecture, perhaps belonging to a wall, tower, and gate marked the edge of the settlement just east of the mudbrick platform. Domestic floors associated with this edge architecture have been found in trenches 890 and 900. The deep sounding indicates that the earliest occupation occurred just prior to 5,000 B.C. Sturdy Hittite architecture of the second millennium is later cut into this Chalcolithic-Early Bronze layer and secures the edge of the mound which then evolved into a fill basin that was utilized by ill-defined post-Hittite (Iron Age and Hellenistic, and Classical) construction projects.

#### **Area 4: The Citadel and Southern Slope**

1. Squares 780.890, 790.890 and 800.890): In hopes of getting a better idea of where all the tumble observed in Squares 770.890 and 770.900 had originated from, we opened up square 780.890 immediately north of our original excavation squares in 2000 and because the slope was steeper here than where we had placed our original exposure, we began excavation by creating a series of earthen steps up the slope. This work was continued in 2001. The initial 7 m area was approximately 3 m above our previous working surfaces in 770.890 and the northernmost 3 m stretch of the square is stepped up again and is another 2 m above the initial exposure in Square 870.890. Near the top of the slope and just above 780.890, we opened Square 790.890 as part of a plan to clarify the chronology of the mound's final Byzantine settlement during the coming season. Although the steep slope made excavation more difficult in this area, it was precisely because of the steeply sloping situation on the mound that we harbored hopes of encountering early walls without the heavy overburden of Late Classical tumble encountered in 770.900 and 770.890 where the debris of later periods was able to settle on the flatter areas of earlier occupation (Gorny *et al.* 1998; 1999).

To some extent, our preliminary efforts turned out even better than we could have planned, for after digging through a meter of wash on the slope, we came upon a series of wall stubs topped with mudbrick. Although their southernmost face had eroded away due to their vulnerable situation on the slope, much of the wall construction remained extant. Numerous examples of both Hittite and Iron Age pottery appeared in the materials excavated near the walls. Among these sherds was a finely executed ceramic animal head (Figs. 14a-14b) that seems to have once been attached to the side of a krater. Various pieces of metal also came from this area including what may have been from the handle of some small implement such as a mirror. All these materials, however, came from the cleaning of the slope and had neither a secure provenience nor a clear date. In the north section of the

trench, however, a large pit (F 10) was discerned cutting deep into the walls in the westernmost part of the area. A Hittite miniature votive plate, one of several from the area (Fig. 15), was removed from the edge of the pit and suggests a Hittite date, but the feature remains unexcavated and its actual date is still to be determined.

Cleaning the area around the wall stubs in square 780.890 produced some surprises. The pottery along the slope had been primarily first and second millennium in date so we expected the walls to be similar in date. As we cleared the mudbrick around these structures, however, we discovered that in the western part of the square, the lower portion of the mudbrick in this area showed evidence of burning similar to what we had found lower down the slope in Square 770.900. Pottery from this layer of mudbrick was characterized by the typical Black Burnished pottery found below. In fact, this layer of material spanned the entire 10 m trench, giving us evidence of an extensive early settlement climbing the slope of the mound. The pottery from this layer was primarily Black Burnished but included several examples of EB II and EB III pottery. The intriguing aspect of this area is that a radiocarbon date (Beta 146705) taken from this area provided a date of ca. 2880 - 2450 BC (Cal BP 4830 - 4400). This supports a sample from 770.890 taken in 1999 (Beta 134070) that also produced an early third millennium date just a few meters further west of the 2000 sample.<sup>14</sup>

The majority of our efforts in 2001 took place directly above these mudbrick walls. While materials found along the slope were still mixed, especially with Hittite sherds, the numerous Iron Age sherds made the prospect of a first or second millennium level also appear increasingly good. A variety of "Dark Age" sherds were also found in this area including the neck of a particularly interesting trefoil pitcher (see Genz 2000). A true architectural level associated with the Iron Age finds has yet to be revealed. The discovery of an *in situ* oven in this upper step contained charcoal and part of a cooking pot. A radiocarbon sample (Beta 146705) from this locus yielded a date of 1190 - 840 BC (Cal 3140 - 2790 BP). Pit F 10, discussed above, appears to be dug from the same level as the oven and another radiocarbon sample taken from locus 5 inside of pit F 10 produced a similar date of 1270 - 910 BC (Cal 3220 - 2860 BP). Based on these dates, this area seems to reflect the Late Bronze - Iron Age transition or possibly a "Dark Age" level. A 2001 radiocarbon

<sup>14</sup> The significance of the radiocarbon dates from this area is not lost on us and has focused our attention on retrieving as much data from this area as possible. As it now stands, the area may help us to illuminate and explain the problematic Chalcolithic - EB I transition. What fascinates us about this chronological scenario is that if it proves to be accurate, the pottery associated with the early third millennium in this area is nearly identical to the earlier Chalcolithic pottery. While there are almost certainly variations on the theme that ultimately will help us to differentiate the periods, it may be that the Chalcolithic culture continues longer than we assumed (perhaps into the early third millennium or the traditional EB I period) with little or no observable change in the ceramic corpus until the appearance of a new age signaled by the Red Burnished wares we commonly associate with EB II, but which may in fact be the real EB I. This would make the remains found in this area contemporary with Troy II, as suggested by the spiral-headed copper pin noted above. What this means for our ideas of cultural change are yet to be worked out, but such a scenario would provide an open window for the arrival of the Indo-Europeans into Anatolia

sample taken from the lower portion of square 780.890 produced a date of 1360-1360 (Cal BP 3310-3300). Taken together the three dates suggest an occupation near the end of the Hittite Empire period that continues into the Iron Age.

Additional squares were opened in 2001 as we continued our investigation of the mound's upper levels. In square 790.890, where a small area had been opened the year before in order to test a small tumulus, we expanded our work into a full square, while at the same time, square 800.890 was then opened on the top of the citadel mound. These squares were intended to provide a clearer picture of the site's vertical sequence, and especially of the site's latest occupation. In order to accomplish this procedure, square 790.890 was fashioned as a 10 x 5 m square linking the top of the citadel mound with the horizontal excavation area below and then subdivided it into five 2 x 5 m steps from which excavation began.

Several levels of architectural units were uncovered in the subdivided steps of 790.890, but the southern face of each structure had been destroyed by activity along the sloping edge of the mound. The pottery was heavily mixed along the slope, but as the five 2 m steps were cut back and excavated, two concentrations of homogenous pottery began to distinguish themselves. The two northernmost (or highest) steps contained remnants of a wall (F 1) and a surface (F 2) that continued into square 800.890. This seems to be where the Late Iron Age pottery is coming from as attested by examples of Achaemenid and Galatian painted sherds found there (Fig. 16). The three southernmost of these steps were then taken down to a common level that exposed wall F 5 from the Hittite period. Part of this wall, including a stone door socle, had been exposed in 2000 while attempting to excavate what seemed to be a small tumulus directly below it. Excavation in the 790.890 ceased at this point as the team focused their work on square 800.890.

Square 800.890 lies on the surface of the citadel and encompasses the final period of occupation. With square 790.890 situated directly beneath it in an intermediate position connecting the citadel (800.890) to the horizontal exposure (780.890). Initial investigations in the square uncovered a Byzantine complex that ran along the edge of the citadel mound (Fig. 17). A small square structure (F 1) was found in the northern portion of the square, while the previously noted wall (F 1) and surface (F 2) from 790.800 continued into 800.890 as F 1 and F 3 respectively. The wall was composed of cut and fitted fieldstones prepared with a smooth exterior face, but displaying no mortar. The heavily plastered floor continued around the small building and into the citadel proper. Initial pottery from the slope in 790.890 was Hellenistic, but when the 800.890 was opened on top of the citadel mound, the ceramic corpus became exclusively Byzantine. The initial investigation also indicated that the plaster surface was part of a street or pavement may have encircled the citadel and that it connected perpendicularly with another street that was bounded on both sides by domestic-style buildings. A pile of animal bones littered the street between the two buildings and while no C14 dates are yet available for Byzantine ruins on the citadel, a coin found in an apparently contemporary building on the Northeast Terrace (below) is tentatively dated to the eleventh century. The pottery on the mound initially appears to be consistent with that same period and may also fall within a similar timeframe.



### III. FINAL OBSERVATIONS, ANALYSES, AND CONCLUSIONS

The 2001 season provided an abundance of new data about the increasingly complex historical developments at Çadır Höyük. Not only did excavators expose new architectural levels, but specialists continued to amass large amounts of data relating to environment, climate, subsistence and the impact of human activity on the land. Together with our radiocarbon sampling, these studies are beginning to shed light on a wonderfully rich and interesting site. An upcoming interim report will detail the results of these studies and how they impact our thesis on the relationship of environment to state and empire development. In the meantime, there are some things that we can say, beginning with the Chalcolithic period.

The massive buildup of occupation at Çadır during the Late Chalcolithic period is similar to what was found at Alişar Höyük and may be typical for sites throughout the area. The period was evidently conducive to settlement and geomorphological studies indicate the existence of a moister period from 4800 - 3600 BC, which would have favored agricultural production, and in turn, the expansion of settlement across the region (cf. Todorova 1993; Kuzucuoğlu 1997; Fontugne *et al.* 1999; Yakar 2000: 17). How this played out in sociopolitical terms remains a puzzle as it is still impossible to determine any sort of political hierarchy, though sites such as Alişar and Çadır must have played critical roles in the region's political make-up. The emergence of Çadır Höyük along a route that passed by Alişar to Kültepe, as well as their similarity of the material culture shared by Alişar and Çadır, along with many other sites in the region, suggests that there was constant and intimate communication between the various nodes of settlement in this region. The presence of an enclosure wall around Levels Ia and Ib, however, along with the observable destruction of the Level Ib city, suggest that relations were not necessarily friendly throughout the region, or that there was a common enemy from without that was to be feared.

The Chalcolithic buildup at Çadır comes during the 4th millennium BC (Gorny 1995a) when we see a lingering Balkan presence in the area that may have arrived via the Black Sea coast and used the Kızıl Irmak as a means of penetrating the interior (cf. Özdoğan 1993; Makkay 1993: 123; Thissen 1993). It seems possible that this Balkan incursion had something to do with the rise of the Anatolian Late Chalcolithic culture and the emergence of large mounded sites in the region. The underlying rationale for this penetration may have involved the search for natural resources, with metals being the primary objective. If so, we could have an early antecedent to the Old Assyrian Colony Age traders trekking into Anatolia in search of metals, but with an impetus coming from the Balkans instead of Mesopotamia. While details remain to be worked out, the Neolithic period obsidian route connecting Europe to south central Anatolia could well have served as the precursor for later Chalcolithic incursions from the Balkans (cf. Dixon, Cann and Renfrew 1972; Renfrew and Dixon 1977; Tykot 1996; Balkan-Atlı *et al.* 1999).

Çadır has now produced a series of radiocarbon dates that begin just prior to 5000 BC and which continue into the first millennium. The Chalcolithic dates corresponds to the rise of favorable climatic conditions in the region (above), a time when contemporary Balkan sites give evidence of prosperous and sophisticated cultures that may have had economic and/or political motivations for extending themselves into northwest and central Anatolia. While these events may be related, we remain uncertain as to why a settlement such as Çadır existed and where such a settlement would have stood in any political hierarchy. All the indicators suggest that this was an important settlement in the framework of local politics, a settlement that was characterized by a hierarchical system of elite rulers and privileged citizenry, the presence of a class of craftsmen and specialized labor, exchange beyond the Kanak Su Basin, and an ability to move both people and resources. The regional survey indicates that there were smaller settlements in the area surrounding Çadır at this time, and these settlements must have been home to farmers and herders who supplied the material and labor resources that made the town come alive. Thus it seems clear that by the mid-fourth millennium, the settlement at Çadır had developed into a sophisticated society that boasted a multi-level hierarchical way of life. Whether Çadır was an independent settlement, as suggested by Branting (1996: 151), or existed as part of a militarily integrated network can not be known at this time, and may never be known.

As important as the Late Chalcolithic (- EB I?) period is for our understanding of the processes at work in the Kanak Su basin, however, the period represents the crest of only one wave in the historical development in central Anatolia. Within the context of regional sites like Alişar and Çadır, we observed a massive buildup of settlement during the Late Chalcolithic that appears to continue into the EB I with a strong element of continuity. Thus, it is becoming increasingly plausible, based on recent discoveries, that Çadır may soon provide important information about the relatively undocumented transition from the Chalcolithic Period to the Early Bronze I and beyond. We remain cautious in our appraisal of the situation as we continue to integrate a growing number of radiocarbon dates into our analysis. Nevertheless, if this hypothetical scenario turns out to be accurate, we may be taking a giant step towards resolving longstanding questions related to the Chalcolithic-EB I transition, as well as what happened in the region during the early part of the third millennium. The characteristic of this early third millennium period is the typical chaff-tempered red ware variously described in the past as Copper Age or Early Bronze II pottery. Elements of the Early Transcaucasian Culture are also observable in the materials of this period.

Important data subsequent to the mid-third millennium marker are also beginning to emerge at Çadır. A change in the site's material culture in the mid-third millennium is said to signal the arrival of the Indo-Europeans and the EB III wares associated with that shift point to new wave of settlement on the mound that lasts throughout the third millennium and into the second. Architectural levels of the second millennium also are being exposed in several areas of the mound, and these levels are providing us with a good corpus of Hittite pottery to work with. The ceramic assemblage itself includes most of the important Hittite ceramic forms (Fig. 22), and together with the initial remnants of architecture, they

clearly demonstrate a significant Hittite presence on the mound during the second millennium. The Hittite settlement at Çadır evidently continued into the Iron Age, though probably not without interruption. "Dark Age" pottery found at Çadır indicates continuity with the Bronze Age, but the fact that the Hittite levels apparently conclude with a destruction level in the eastern trench suggests it too succumbed to the relentless forces that helped forge the central Anatolian Iron Age community.

Settlement continued to be widespread in the region after the Iron Age, especially during the Classical era (cf. Mitchell 1993). Preliminary investigations into this period have only scratched the surface (Gorny *et al.* 1995: 76, 80), but several exposures across the site give ample attestation of a large Hellenistic presence on the mound, not to mention significant quantities of Hellenistic ceramics such as the omnipresent Galatian Ware. In both periods, the settlement expands down the mound and across a large portion of the terrace. Even more noticeable, however, is the late Roman-Byzantine sequence that is observable on the surface of the mound and across the whole terrace.

Exactly how late the settlement at Çadır Höyük continued to exist is still a matter of debate. The Constantine X (Ducas) coin (above) yields a potential eleventh century date (1059-1067 AD), but that date must still be corroborated with radiocarbon dates and further excavation. The possibility of later settlement in the surrounding valley is evidenced by the 13<sup>th</sup> century coin found in 1994 (Gorny 1999: Fig. 17).

In essence, we have established a broad outline of settlement at Çadır Höyük, a preliminary chronological timeline. A better understanding of how successive waves of settlers integrated this particular site into the wider framework of state and empire building is just beginning to emerge and many details remain to be worked out in future seasons.

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**Table 1: Preliminary Çadır Höyük Chronology**

| Period                         | Phase | Dates/sublevels                             | Primary Areas                                               | Comments                                                                         |
|--------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Islamic                        | X     | 1100 and after                              | Area around Mound                                           | Pottery and a coin                                                               |
| Byzantine                      | IX    | 1100 AD-300 AD                              | Area 2 (910.920<br>1050.1000);<br>Area 4 (800.890)          | Ceramics, walls<br>and Const. X (1059-<br>1067) coin.                            |
| Roman                          | VIII  | 100 BC-300 AD                               | Area 2 (910.920)                                            | pottery, architecture,                                                           |
| Hellenistic                    | VII   | 300-100 BC                                  | Area 2 (910.920)<br>Area 3 (770.890<br>and 770.900)         | pottery and robber<br>trench                                                     |
| Achaemenid                     | VI    | 500-300 BC                                  | Area 4 (790.890)                                            | Painted sherds.                                                                  |
| Iron Age                       | Va    | ca 1000-500 B.C.                            | Area 3 (770.890)                                            | “Phrygian” Sherds,<br>walls and<br>installations.                                |
| Late Bronze/Iron<br>Transition | Vb    | ca. 1200-1000 BC                            | Area 4 (780.900)                                            | “Dark Age sherds”                                                                |
| Late Bronze                    | IVa   | ca 1400-1200 BC                             | Area 1 (800.930),<br>Area 3 (770.880);<br>Area 4 (790.890). | Hittite Empire Period:<br>sherds, walls.                                         |
| Late Bronze                    | IVb   | ca. 1600-1400. BC                           | Area 1 (800.930 )                                           | Old Hittite Kingdom:<br>sherds; walls.                                           |
| Middle Bronze                  | III   | Old Assyrian Colony Age<br>ca. 2000-1700 BC | Area 1 (800.930)<br>Area 3 760.880)                         | OACP Pottery sherds.                                                             |
| Early Bronze                   | IIa   | ca 2300-2000 BC (EB III)                    | Area 1 (800.930)<br>Area 3 (789.890)                        | Intermediate and<br>Cappadocian wares.                                           |
| Early Bronze                   | IIb   | ca. 2800-2300 BC (EB II)                    | Area 3 (760.880)                                            | Red chaff-tempered<br>Pottery sherds.                                            |
| Trans. EB/LC                   | IIc   | ca. 3000-2800 BC (EB I)                     | Area 3 (770.890)                                            | Graves cut into 1b.                                                              |
| Late Chalcolithic              | Ia1   | ca. 3300-3400 BC                            | Area 3 (770.890)                                            | small weak wall<br>foundations 1998<br>in 1998.                                  |
| Late Chalcolithic              | Ia2   | ca. 3300-3400 BC                            | Area 3 (770.890<br>and 770.900)                             | stronger foundations<br>under Ia1.                                               |
| Late Chalcolithic              | Ib    | ca 3500-3700 BC                             | Area 3 (770.890 and<br>770.900)                             | Levels under Ib wall<br>foundations separated<br>by fire & destruction<br>debris |
| Late Chalcolithic              | Ic    | ca. 4500 BC (c14)                           | Deep Sounding                                               | fill layer w/ F 42                                                               |
| Late Chalcolithic              | Id    | ca. 5200 BC (c14)                           | Deep Sounding                                               | F 43 wall foundation                                                             |
| Late Chalcolithic              | Ie    | ca. 5300 BC                                 | Deep Sounding                                               | F 44 wall foundation                                                             |



**Table 2**  
**Çadır Höyük <sup>14</sup>C Dates**

| Sample      | FCN no. | Year | <sup>14</sup> C Age | Square     | context | 2σ max cal age (cal age intercept) min cal age                                                                      |
|-------------|---------|------|---------------------|------------|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Beta 134066 | 2494    | 1999 | 4840 +/- 180 BP     | 770.900    | L 53    | 3780 - 3505 BC (Cal BP 5730 - 5455) and 3435 - 3380 BC (Cal BP 5385 - 5330)                                         |
| Beta 134069 | 2454    | 1999 | 4850 +/- 50 BP      | 770.900 DS | L 46    | 3705 - 3620 BC (Cal BP 5655 - 5570) and 3590 - 3525 BC (Cal BP 5540 - 5475)                                         |
| Beta 134070 | 2582    | 1999 | 4380 +/- 130 BP     | 770.890    | L 42    | 3485 - 3475 BC (Cal BP 5435 - 5423) and 3370 - 2835 BC (Cal BP 5320 - 4785) and 2830 - 2645 BC (Cal BP 4780 - 4595) |
| Beta 146703 | 3193    | 2000 | 2890 +/- 60 BP      | 780.890    | L 5     | 1270 - 910 BC (Cal BP 3220 - 2860)                                                                                  |
| Beta 146704 | 3467    | 2000 | 2840 +/- 60 BP      | 780.890    | F 4     | 1190 - 840 BC (Cal BP 3140 - 2790)                                                                                  |
| Beta 146705 | 3856    | 2000 | 4080 +/- 80 BP      | 789.890    | L 11    | 2880 - 2450 BC (Cal BP 4830 - 4400)                                                                                 |
| Beta 146707 | 3130    | 2000 | 6130 +/- 40 BP      | 770.89 DS  | F 43    | 5220 - 4940 BC (Cal BP 7170 - 6890)                                                                                 |
| Beta 146710 | 3510    | 2000 | 5740 +/- 50 BP      | 770.900    | L 65    | 4520 - 4480 BC (Cal BP 6670 - 6430)                                                                                 |
| Beta 146714 | 3565    | 2000 | 4750 +/- 80 BP      | 770.900    | F 56    | 3670 - 3360 BC (Cal BP 5620 - 5310)                                                                                 |
| Beta 159385 | 4400    | 2001 | 2920 +/- 70 BP      | 780.890    | F 5     | 1360 - 1360 BC (Cal BP 3310 - 3300) and 1320 - 920 BC (Cal BP 3260 - 2870)                                          |
| Beta 159388 | 4794    | 2001 | 3300 +/- 80 BP      | 800.930    | F 23    | 1750 - 1410 BC (Cal BP 3700 - 3360)                                                                                 |
| Beta 159389 | 5360    | 2001 | 3430 +/- 70 BP      | 800.930    | F 23    | 1910 - 1530 BC (Cal BP 3860 - 3480)                                                                                 |
| Beta 159391 | 4568    | 2001 | 4700 +/- 80 BP      | 770.890    | L 69    | 3650 - 3340 BC (Cal BP 5600 - 5290)                                                                                 |

**Table 3**  
**Çadır Höyük**  
**Calibrated Radiocarbon Dates (BC)**

| <i>Sample</i> | <i>Chalcolithic</i> | <i>Early Bronze</i> | <i>MB - Old Hitt</i> | <i>Late Bronze II</i> | <i>Iron</i> | <i>Classical</i> |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------------|
| 146707        | 5220 - 4940         |                     |                      |                       |             |                  |
| 146710        | 4520 - 4480         |                     |                      |                       |             |                  |
| 134066        | 3780 - 3505         |                     |                      |                       |             |                  |
| 134069        | 3705 - 3620         |                     |                      |                       |             |                  |
| 146714        | 3670 - 3360         |                     |                      |                       |             |                  |
| 159391        | 3650 - 3340         |                     |                      |                       |             |                  |
| 134070        | 3485 - 3475         | 2830 - 2645         |                      |                       |             |                  |
| 146705        |                     | 2880 - 2450         |                      |                       |             |                  |
| 159389        |                     |                     | 1910 - 1530          |                       |             |                  |
| 159388        |                     |                     | 1750 - 1410          |                       |             |                  |
| 159385        |                     |                     |                      | 1360 - 1360           | 1320 - 920  |                  |
| 146703        |                     |                     |                      | 1270 - 910            |             |                  |
| 146704        |                     |                     |                      |                       | 1190 - 840  |                  |

NOTE: These are maximum dates. Minimum dates recorded only when they fall in the succeeding period

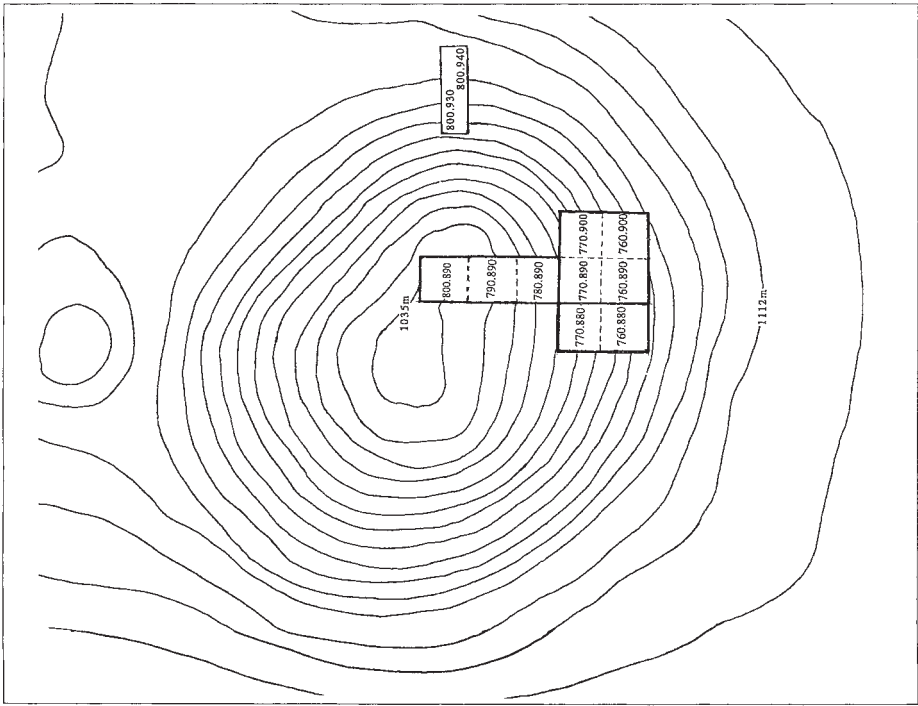


Fig. 2. Çadır Höyük Site Map, 2000-2001.

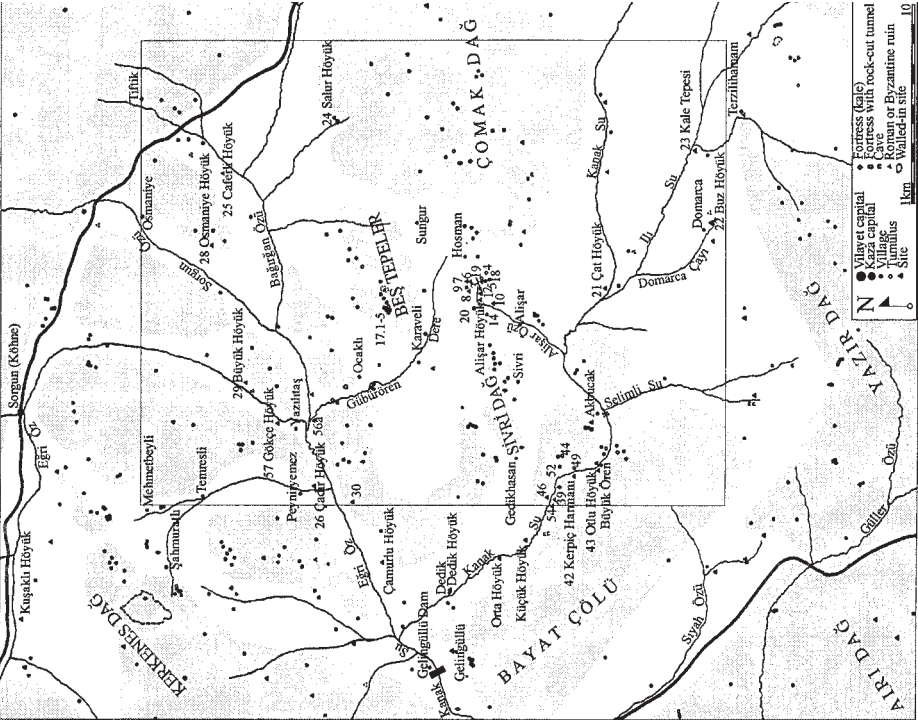


Fig. 1. The Alişar Regional Project survey area showing Alişar and Çadır Höyüks.



Fig. 3. Hittite Wall in 800.930.



Fig. 4. Byzantine Building on Northwest Terrace.





Fig. 5a-b. Constantine (Ducas) X coin.



Fig. 6. Silo and Platform in Squares 770.880/760.890.

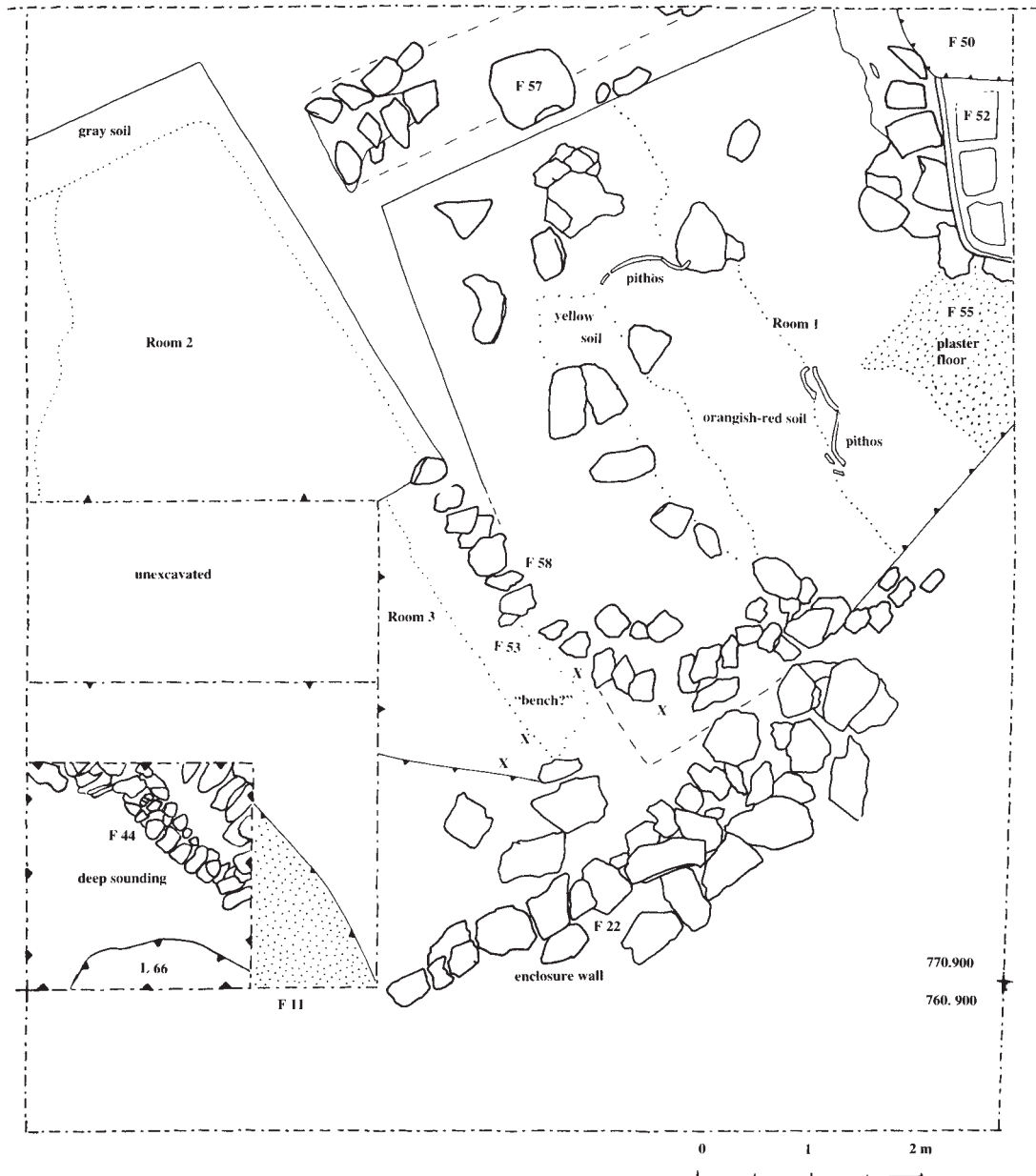


Fig. 7. Burned Room in Square 770.900.



Fig. 8. Pottery from Room 3 in 770.890.



Fig. 9. "Gate" building.





Fig. 10. Spiral pins from Early Bronze/Chalcolithic deposit in 770.890.



Fig. 11. Platform with Hittite Room dug into it (left).

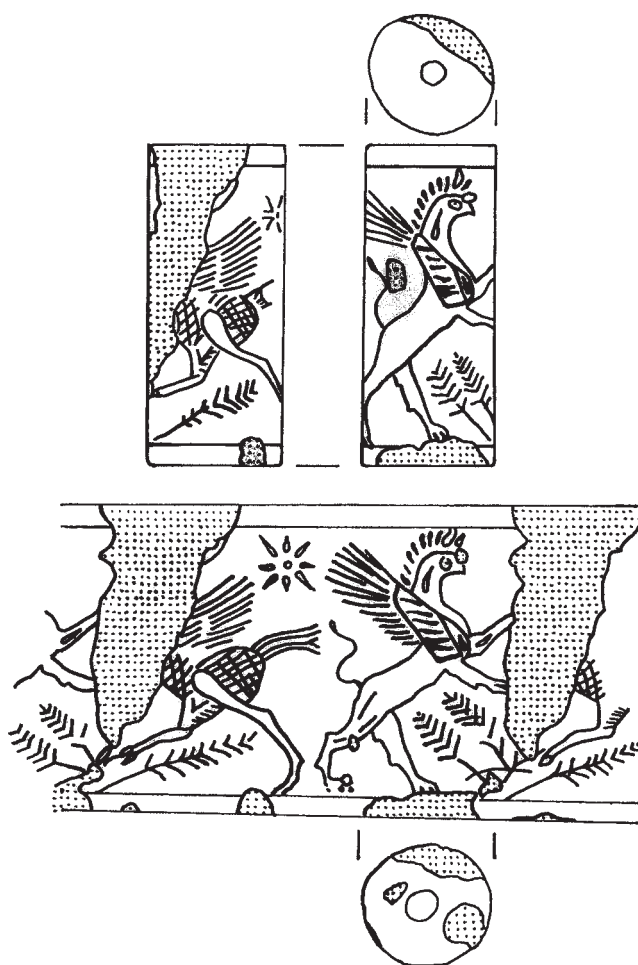


Fig. 12. "Mitannian" Cylinder Seal.



Fig. 13. Wall F 43 in Deep Sounding (ca 5200 BC).



Fig. 14a-b. Animal Head from 770.900.



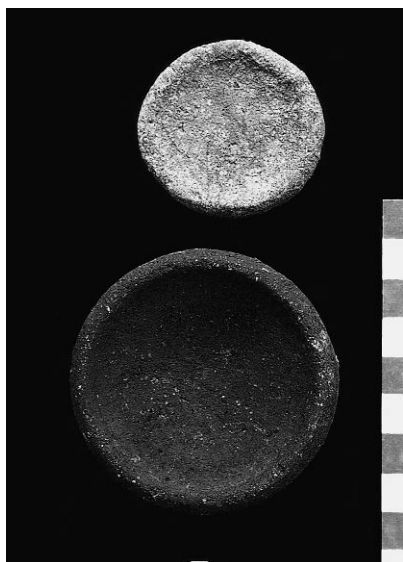


Fig. 15. Hittite Miniature Votive Plates from Area 3.

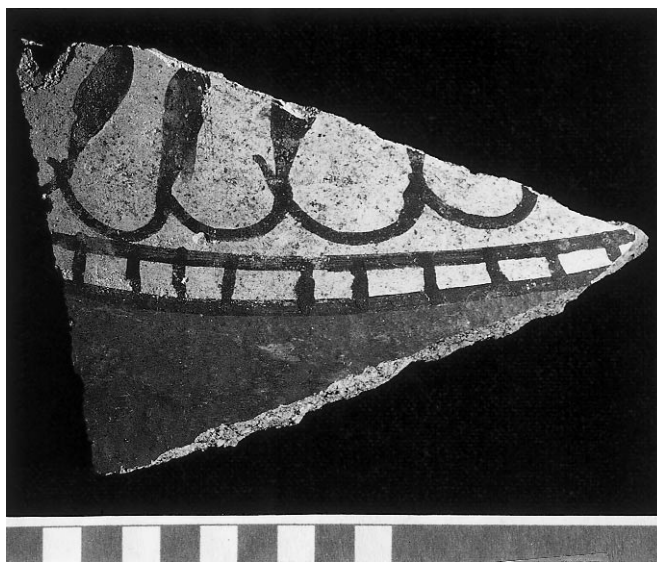


Fig. 16. "Achaemenid" painted sherd.



Fig. 17. Byzantine Complex in Square 800.890.

## **SYSTEMATIC SURFACE COLLECTION FROM NEVRUZLU: A Late Halaf Site in the Kahramanmaraş Valley**

*Bekir Gürdil\**

### **I Introduction**

This paper focuses on a systematic surface collection of the mound called Nevruzlu located in the Kahramanmaraş valley of the Southeast Anatolia<sup>1</sup>. While dating the site by presenting the material remains recovered from the surface, the surveying strategy applied to the site is described also. The detailed presentation of the surveying strategy not only serves as an example of a practical field technique, but also allows one to assess the reliability of the data. The conclusion of the paper discusses the date of the site and the possible place and role of Nevruzlu within the Halaf world in the Maraş Valley.

At the same time, this paper should be seen as an appendix to a larger body of research that has already been devoted to the understanding of the Kahramanmaraş region in the Halaf period. This large-scale project, which includes the recent years' excavations at Domuztepe, focuses on both internal and intra-site processes of significant behaviours and interactions of the ancient communities. Such processes, in return, may help us to recognize evolutionary social developments and complexities of human groups in the past. With this research focus in mind, Nevruzlu should be examined in relation to Domuztepe as part of the same valley system. Other well-known sites in northern Mesopotamia are deliberately not addressed in this paper.

### **II Nevruzlu**

Nevruzlu was discovered during the reconnaissance surveys carried out in the Maraş valley (fig.1), as the initial part of Kahramanmaraş Archaeological Project (Carter 1995; 1996). The aims of the reconnaissance were to establish the relative chronology of the region as well as to document the cultural developments that took place in the Maraş Valley. In addition, the region demonstrates importance for trade and interaction systems in the later time periods. It was known to have been at the crossroads of ancient trade routes, but the lack

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of any systematic research kept this part of Anatolia unknown archaeologically. Three seasons of reconnaissance surveys were fruitful and resulted in the recovery of data from more than 250 sites, dating from the Paleolithic to Medieval ages. One of the later prehistoric periods identified in the valley was the Halaf period (ca.5500-4200 BC). At that time, this period was represented by only two sites in the region: Nevruzlu, and the major site Domuztepe.

Following the initiation of excavations at Domuztepe, it has been thought that this large site could not have existed in isolation but must have interacted with other neighbouring settlements. If we wish to understand the past events that once took place at Domuztepe in the Halaf period, it is crucial to focus on the nature of the relations that this site must have had with its contemporaries. At the same time, since Nevruzlu is a small size, low mound, we thought it would be advantageous to examine it with a systematic surface collection, achievable within a reasonable amount of time. With this research plan, we hoped to obtain clues to the role of Nevruzlu with respect to Domuztepe. Due to its size, Nevruzlu may be the satellite of the larger center, if they both are contemporary. Therefore, collecting the material evidence from the surface would provide more data and serve as the first step towards evincing patterns of past behavior over this site.

Nevruzlu is a more or less an oval shaped, small site around 70 by 80 meters in diameter, and 2 meters in height at its highest points. The site is located near the modern village called Nevruzlu, which is 10 km north of Domuztepe and 1 km north of Aksu river (fig.2). Rather small settlement size was previously considered to be one of characteristics of the Halaf, but today, however, recent research shows that much larger Halaf sites exist, such as Domuztepe, Kazane Höyük and Takyan Höyük (Campbell et. al. 1999; Wattenmaker 1994; 1997; Algaze et. al. 1991).

Unfortunately, Nevruzlu, like many other sites, is under the constant threat of destruction today. Our reconnaissance visits showed that the site had met with intense agricultural activities and related disturbances. Considering its small size and low height, the regular agricultural activities cause a constant flattening of the site. At one of our visits, a rather large size truck was parked above the site during the process of harvesting sugar beets from and around the surface of the site. According to local informants, since around the beginning of the twentieth century, the site has been intensely used for agricultural purposes. Today, wheat, cotton, and sugar beets are the most common items planted over the area. The regionally well-known cotton pickers, who consist of mainly impoverished nomads from Urfa, Adana, Adıyaman and Gaziantep, are regularly hired to work during the harvesting season. Naturally, they construct their temporary tents, shades, and other domestic facilities over the site. Such preparation of modern living structures in every fall season gradually destroys the cultural layers of the site. Hence, it seems clear that the site will totally disappear in the not-so-distant future. Or, whenever the land owner may have enough funds to hire a local bulldozer in order to gain smoother agricultural land, the site will be flattened probably in less than five working days and the data with the contexts we need will irreversibly be destroyed. Equally important as a destruction factor, site is located very near to the village; in fact, a house with its garden and the village road is built adjacent to the site. Because of such modern constructions, it is reasonable to assume that the north and northeastern areas of the site may



have been partially covered by these modern structures if not destroyed altogether and these areas were not studied out of respect for the privacy of the family living in the house. According to local informants, the area of the site had served as a traditional storage area until the recent past. In order to store grain year-round, the villagers dug meter-deep pits over this site known in Turkish *kuyu ambar* or *tahıl kuyusu*. Similar activities were documented in the 1970's during the Keban Rescue Project in Elazığ province (Peters 1976:pl.80, 86;1 -2). All these activities at and around the site cause the unconscious but ongoing destruction mechanisms for the ancient remains.

### III Survey and Sampling Strategy

In addition to the excavations at Domuztepe and earlier reconnaissance survey by Carter, more surveys of the valley took place, but this time the research was confined to the vicinity of Domuztepe. The questions asked were oriented towards Domuztepe and the Halaf period rather than the region and the establishment of its chronology. The main goals were to understand the landscape during the Halaf period, to establish the paleo-climatic conditions, to identify the available resources and study the patterns of their exploitation, to record the other archaeological sites in the vicinity, and, if any, to discover the other contemporary sites located in corridor between Domuztepe and Nevruzlu, which stretches approximately 10 km (fig.2). During the intensive walks in this corridor, Snead (1996) applied a sampling strategy that involved full coverage of eleven promising localities in order to detect more Halaf period settlements, but this short-term work could not produce any Halaf sites. Nevertheless, Campbell detected some Halaf pottery in the reconnaissance collection coming from sites KM 67 and KM 125, which led him to state that while there seem to be more Halaf sites, the formation processes of settlements have buried them and do not allow us to date these occupations (Campbell, et. al. 1999).

Surveying Nevruzlu consisted of two major phases. The first phase was to prepare the topographical map of the mound and lay out the sampling strategy over the site. The second phase was to collect the material evidence and date the site by studying the collected samples accordingly.

Mapping was initiated by locating the base point for topographical readings (fig. 3). The highest looking point of the site was chosen in order to see the entire surface of the site and to avoid moving the base point again for further readings. The North point was established thereafter and more than 300 necessary readings all over the site followed.

Sampling and coverage were established with the use of transects. The reasons for selecting the transects as collection units instead of circles or squares are the advantage of having already set two precise points on the North-South axis, which were established for the topographic map. Laying the first transect on this line and the others parallel to it was practical for placing them on our map. Accordingly, the first transect line was laid exactly on the base point and the N point. The length of each transects was chosen to be 76 meters, which was longer than the average diameter of the site. The transects were decided to be 4 meters wide with 2 meters on both sides of the established transect line. After the first transect was laid,

eight more transects parallel to the first one, with 10 meter intervals, were established on both east and west side of the first transect. Each transect was given a name, such as T1. Overall, these nine transects appear to cover the entire site as well as the little outside of the edges.

By choosing transects much longer than the site, it is hoped that an issue in settlement archaeology may be solved. The definition of a site and the determination of the edges of a site seem to be mainly based on the artifact density, but density does not seem to be steady in any given region and varies from one region to another and from one period to another. Also, whether the term site should include the areas in the vicinity where the fields, gardens, and various activity areas existed or only the areas where the architecture was constructed for various forms of occupational activities, is another question to be answered by the researcher. The issues of identifying a site with spatial and temporal behavioral patterns are widely discussed in the literature (Plog et. al. 1978; Sanders, Parsons, Santley 1979; Gallant 1986; Wilkinson 1989; Cherry, Davis, Mantzourani 1991; Gleason 1994). Non-occupational activity areas such as thrash middens or nearby gardens were not addressed in this work since the surface collection would be uninformative compared to an excavation. Therefore it is assumed that with the focus on the artifact density on the surface, laying transects approximately longer than the site is an adequate precaution because this allows one to identify the area and the edges of the site. In accordance, the assumption that more than four artifact fragments in one collection unit should indicate a past activity area, and artifacts smaller than 2 cm are not informative and should not be treated as evidence indicating a past activity, was accepted. Areas with fewer than four fragments or fragments of an uninformative size are likely to occur near to the edge of the site because of the erosion of the upper layers through time; this eroded soil is likely to be dispersed to neighbouring vicinities by agriculture. The entire collection procedure was made by allowing these principals to define the site and determine the activity areas with artifacts.

Since each transect covered a total of 304m<sup>2</sup> and would have required a long time to collect the artifacts, they were further divided into 4 meter wide squares, each of which was 16 m<sup>2</sup> in area. Alternating squares starting from the south of each transect were chosen to be collection units, with 10 per transect. These collection units were given individual names with the use of lower case letters a to j, such as T1a, indicating the square a of Transect 1, or T7d indicating the square d of Transect 7. In this system, equal chance was given to each portion of the site and, therefore, the chosen systematic sampling strategy utilized non-random, non-stratified applications.

This task, the mapping procedure, laying the collection units, and collecting the materials from the surface, was completed by two individuals in 15 hours, spread over three long morning shifts. The entire collected area totaled 1440 m<sup>2</sup> equaling 25.7% of the site coverage. It is assumed that without having employed the full coverage technique, this percentage is still high enough to represent the reliable distribution of materials and to detect the density of certain types of artifacts and the activity areas. Some similar fundamental works in settlement archaeology and sampling techniques, such as the ones conducted in Mesoamerica, also proved to be efficient and informative in determining the intra-site, inter-site settlement patterns and activity areas (Plog 1976; Flannery 1976). However, there are

some difficulties in the Near Eastern cases, such as the settlement size. The majority of the Near Eastern sites seem to be larger than 1 hectare. Also, these sites are often formed as high mounds consisting of multi-period settlements. In addition, when erosion and other geographic changes over the millennia are considered, these factors necessitate a higher percentage of sampling to obtain dependable results. Although it may not resolve all problems that are related to site surface survey, when time allows, a higher percentage of coverage should improve the reliability of the data.

#### **IV The Archaeological Evidence (Figs. 4-7)**

Artifacts were bagged and labeled with the location where they were collected. After they were washed, they were separated according to their material, such as sherds, glass, stones, etc. Since the corpus of the material consisted mainly of sherds, greater attention was paid to pottery assemblage. Meanwhile, if artifacts were intensely abraded, battered, or less than 2 cm in size, they were discarded for the reasons mentioned above. The lithics recovered were very small in number, totaling 64 pieces with the weight of 292 grams. Most fragments were flint or flint-like rocks, while only one tiny piece was obsidian. It is possible that deep plowing and harvesting pushed the small lithic fragments into the cracks of the soil and buried them beneath the surface. Also, the preservation state of the lithics sample is poor. They all seem to be broken into very small pieces as a kind of a debitage bulk. This might have resulted from the constant agricultural destruction over the surface. Thus, these stones were of very limited usefulness to the archaeologist for the analytical study, but a specialist's opinion would still be helpful.

After this initial sorting, artifacts were grouped according to ware by studying the diagnostic sherds. The procedure applied was adopted from the simple, formal typological systematic, 'medium level processing' established for the sherds found at the Domuztepe excavations (Campbell et. al. 1999). It is assumed that using similar attributes and typological scheme for artifacts would generate comparable framework for Nevruzlu and Domuztepe, which would suggest whether any relationships could be established between the two. In doing so, major attributes of artifacts were noted as much as possible, including the form, use of material, color, and surface treatments. All this observation was made macroscopically. Each ware group was counted and weighed for basic statistical purposes as well.

Since no complete representative vessel was recovered, the pottery forms are only presented in a rather general manner. Pottery forms consisted of bowls and jars. Five ware groups were manifest at the site, all of which were identified as Halaf Painted, Halaf Plain, Burnished Ware, Coarse Ware, and Late Period Ware. For comparison, Table 1 gives the quantity of each ware group collected during the survey.

##### *Halaf Painted Ware*

This group features light color buff or orange paste. A few examples also had nearly a brick red color. The temper is mostly well-distributed, fine sand together with a low number



of calcite particles. It is not clear whether calcite was added as temper or whether it was naturally available within the clay. This statement about calcite is also valid for the other ware groups. Grit was added to the clay in some examples, but in low amounts. The firing process was mostly carried out at medium level. Some sherds evidently had biscuit fabric, indicating a low temperature firing process, but a few examples had high firing as evidenced by their clinky sound when struck. Most examples show a grayish center in the wall sections of the sherds, implying reduced conditions during firing.

Painting was usually applied to the exterior of the vessel but some examples have thickly applied bands of painting on the interior of the rim area (Fig.4). Painted decorations were not limited to top of the vessel but also appeared on the central and lower parts of the body. The variability of surface decoration is not particularly high. There are horizontal bands that are limited to the rim area with crosshatch patterns under it (Fig.4: 6,11; Fig.7: 1-3,8,13), vertical parallel lines filled with dots (Fig.4: 12-13; Fig.5: 8), diagonal lines (Fig.7: 4,9,14), horizontal lines (Fig.7: 5,11, 15,16), horizontal wavy bands (Fig.4: 1,13), and zigzags (Fig.5: 3,5,7; Fig.7: 17). The colors of the paints are orange, brown, dark brown, plum red, and light red. In a few circumstances, decoration was made by incision, which usually takes the form of parallel diagonal lines limited to the upper part of the body (Fig.6: 6-8). Some painted designs seem rather complex consisting of more than two design elements (Fig.4: 12-13; Fig.7: 6-7,10)

#### *Halaf Plain Ware*

It can be stated that the fabric of this group is identical with that of the painted ware group and the attributes are similar. The exception is the lack of reddish fabric, and in a few examples the interior of the vessel had been scraped with a hard object leaving shallow but recognizable irregular striations. The surfaces are plain and seem to have a thin self-slip. Because of the similarity of the fabric of both plain and painted groups, it is possible to suggest that both of these wares were made from a similar bulk of paste. The colour of the paste, consistency of temper, and the approximate firing level also support this statement.

#### *Burnished Ware (Fig.6: 2-4)*

The paste of this group is dirty grayish with the mixture of buff, brown, or red colours. Also a few examples had grayish colour paste. Thus, for many cases, reduced conditions during firing can be suggested as a rule for this group. The core of the sherds supports this too. Such coloring may have been achieved by deliberately reduced conditions during the firing process. Burnished ware may have been placed in certain areas of the kiln where the reduced conditions were easy to achieve. Another possibility is that different clay sources with a different color and inclusions might have been exploited. Temper again consisted of well-distributed fine sand and sometimes calcite particles. However, low amounts of large grits are found in some sherds. Firing generally seems to have been made at medium level.

The highly burnished surfaces of these sherds easily distinguish this group. Even

though the distinct pattern of burnishing is not visible, it may still be suggested that burnishing was executed with a certain manner leaving a wavy pattern. Possibly the use of the same tool with the same motion produced the consistent appearance of these burnished surfaces. However, a closer look at the surfaces shows that the motion of rubbing resulted in a mixture of thick and thin, shiny, slightly wavy lines leaving matte, untouched areas in between them. Depending on the paste colour, burnishing gave each vessel a distinct, shiny brown, red, gray or blackish colour. It may be suggested that burnishing was one form of surface decoration. Apart from that, in one case, the surface was thick burnished and in a few cases, the interior of the sherd was scraped with a hard tool.

#### *Coarse Ware (Fig.6: 1,5)*

The description of this group is straightforward. Buff color paste was combined with dense, fine sand, grit and vegetable temper. The size of the temper varies greatly, but larger than 1 cm as well as vegetable temper longer than 1 cm were common. Firing in most of the cases was in low temperature but in a few examples medium firing was also distinguished. All examples show thick dark gray or blackish lines on the cores of the wall sections. These examples had not received any particular surface treatment, except that some show signs of smoothing, possibly by hand.

#### *Bowls*

Most of the bowls are painted, (Fig.4) but heavily burnished examples also exist (Fig.6: 2-4); the burnished ones seem present as both hemispherical and conical bowls. They seem to consist of small size, conical bowls. There are examples of squat bottomed bowls suggesting a tulip-like shape, and straight-sided but inverted bowls (Fig.4: 12-13). It may be said that most of the thickly applied red or orange color band design on the flat rims is correlated with the conical bowl forms.

#### *Jars*

There are only three types of jars documented. The jars with a low but straight neck (Fig.5: 1-3; Fig.6: 5), or with a flaring neck (Fig.5: 5-6; Fig.7: 12), and whole mouth jars (Fig.6: 1). Whole mouth jars are represented mainly by coarsely made ware. Short neck jars are decorated with thick horizontal bands at the rim as well as the lower neck areas.

All the rim forms from each group always show a simplified flat or rounded form. On the other hand, the bases are simple and flat and are decorated with various patterns (Fig 5: 4,7-8).

#### *Late Period*

The Late Period pottery was identified by the use of a large amount of sand and by the

distinct sharp red colour of the paste. It appears that very fine sand was added to dark red or brick red colour paste. It may also be important to mention that all of these sherds are rather small in size, often less than 2 cm, and they are in a highly abraded state without any understandable indication of surface treatment. Apart from the sherds, there were no architectural remains located on the surface indicating this late period. Unsystematic walks around the site showed that the late period pottery is distributed widely in the vicinity of the site too.

The reasons for the poor condition of these sherds may be suggested as the result of two past activities: the ancient utilization of compost pits and the process of fertilizing the fields with manure. Such activities may have been used to enrich the nutrients of the soil for agricultural productivity. During these processes, the sherds, along with other material evidence, might have been frequently mixed with the dirt and trash from various domestic contexts, such as from a living room or a kitchen area. Later, this dirt fill was thrown into thrash pits with any other disposed material from domestic contexts, and this thrash was eventually dispersed into the fields as fertilizing agents (Wilkinson 1982; 1989; 1990; Miller, Gleason 1994). In his off-site analysis, as well as the ethnographic accounts from the Abbasid period in the Near East, Wilkinson suggested that people in antiquity might have transported their trash and sewage into the fields to improve the nutrient content of the soil for agriculture. During this process, the sherds from the various contexts of occupation areas may have been mixed with the trash and transported into fields for this kind of fertilizing. The topsoil might have included of ash, leftover food, bones, sherds, spoiled food, vegetables, wood, etc. In off-site localities, Wilkinson detected the highest density of the sherds in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods during which the population was also high in the region. This practice of composting organic material and fertilizing the fields might also be the case in Nevruzlu area, and thus, the late period sherds might have been transported through ancient agricultural practices during which the sherds might have damaged and redistributed in space.

An alternative process would be taking place during the recent decades by the locals. Villagers may have dug out some archaeological areas near the Late Roman occupation, and dispersed the soil along with sherds and other archaeological material into the fields. This process eliminates the uneven heights and the mounds of the landscape which hinder agricultural activities. Smoothing the landscape also brings up aerated soil to the fields as a sheet of new soil over the older soil to enrich the quality of nutrients over time. There must have been other artifactual remains in the new soil removed from the archaeological site, but these remains almost always receive much less attention than the sherds. If examined more carefully, there should be bone, stone, and other artifacts in such dispersed soil, especially if one considers small, single housed sites forming a very low, small size mound with short term occupation. The inconvenienced farmer, with agricultural goals in mind, can flatten it in a short time. Therefore, this small site would disappear and its material would be dispersed throughout the area used for agriculture. Therefore, if the late period material of Nevruzlu had been transported, whether in recent history or in antiquity, the site may not have any remaining evidence of cultural occupation.

Of course, the last possibility is that there actually might have been a Late Roman



occupation, or activities on Nevruzlu with the sherds of that date. Maybe the duration of activity was so short that scanty evidence exists from this period. If the low temperature in the firing process was predominated, and if we consider the natural processes as well as agricultural activities over and around the site, the pottery would have been eroding up until today. Excavations would elucidate the nature of the site formation processes that took place in the area and support one of the above possibilities.

### *Other Material Remains*

As mentioned above, understanding the lithic assemblage was hindered by the fragmentary nature and very small size of the each piece. Whether these were part of tools or actual debitage could not be understood.

No ground stone, bone, or any other stone artifacts were recovered. A few fragmentary pieces of glass, possibly belonging to small cups or bottles, and a few blue color twisted or spiral-shaped glass bracelet fragments were found, all of which only helped to support the likely existence of Late Roman period or even later activities at the site.

## **V Results from Nevruzlu**

### *Date of the Site and the Survey*

Systematic surface collections from Nevruzlu yielded a sufficient amount of pottery to identify the ware groups and accordingly, to date the site. Visual comparison between the sherds collected from Nevruzlu and those recovered from the excavated contexts of Domuztepe show nearly identical characteristics, such as fabric, paste color, surface treatments, form, etc (Campbell et. al. 1999). As a result, Nevruzlu now can be dated to the Late Halaf period ca. 4750-4200 BC. In contrast to the small quantity of Ubaid pottery recovered from Domuztepe, Nevruzlu did not yield any Ubaid sherds. Ubaid-like sherds appear in the top layers at Domuztepe; these sherds were both arbitrarily and purposefully treated as separate from the Late Halaf horizon by assuming that Ubaid-like sherds may indicate the beginning of the termination, or the replacement process of Halaf traditions. This arbitrary separation in the ceramic study may provide insight into the transition processes through Ubaid-related fashions and socio-cultural indications in SE Anatolian cases. Not having Ubaid sherds at Nevruzlu, therefore, implies the absence of Post-Halaf. If there were any kind of activity at Nevruzlu indicating the transition into Ubaid, this would only be understood by excavations.

The site seemed to have witnessed some activity during the Late Roman period, the nature of which was not determined by the surface collections because of the lack of diagnostic evidence. Therefore, the presence of the Late Roman period is suggested, but in a rather uninformative nature.

According to the distribution of sherds, the Halaf period appears to be concentrated on mostly at the northwest quadrant and at the eastern half of the site (fig.8). This may suggest

of occupational activity at this part of the site and therefore, architectural remains beneath the surface. Distribution of the coarse ware is unclear not because it is not concentrated in a specific area of the site, but because of the difficulty in dating it. If there were a Late Period occupation at the site, some of the coarse ware might well belong to the Roman period. Since no clear distinction could be made between the attributes of Halaf period coarse ware and the Late Period coarse ware, the spatial concentrations of coarse ware would be misleading.

There is another and perhaps more important problem to be mentioned which may be unique to our site. In terms of systematic surveys over the sites, it might be suggested that the mapping of the distribution of distinct ware groups on Nevruzlu may be considered unreliable. The intense agricultural disturbance, on such a small size site, may have relocated the sherds and the concentrated areas. Time to time, sherds would have been moved from one location to another when the soil was disturbed and removed. Until today, such events may have occurred repeatedly. In the long run, contexts, architecture and information from artifactual evidence may have been displaced and destroyed with such continuous, undetected deformation processes. For this reason, the distribution of sherds could very well be misleading and the Late Halaf concentration at the NW quadrant of the site might only have resulted from such agriculture-based disturbances of the landscape. For the same reason, other statistical analysis, such as the distribution of Late Halaf period pottery by weight or the distribution of certain ware groups or forms, become risky and possibly pointless. If the excavations were carried out, the distribution of artifacts from our survey could be compared with the excavated material evidence and the contexts, so that the reliability of our survey would be tested.

Late period sherds show no specific concentration in any area, which again may be the result of modern agricultural disturbances or the indication of ancient fertilization processes, discussed briefly above.

### *Aspects of Social Complexity*

Beyond similarity based on pottery analysis and chronology, Nevruzlu, in association with Domuztepe, presents a case for a brief discussion of evolutionary social development systems, leading towards the understanding of social behavior and mind in the past. Thus, it is plausible to ask questions about how to consider the dynamics of internal and inter-site politics, and economic relations in Kahramanmaraş Valley.

Models attempting to lay out functional frameworks and explaining the past events as the current research focus in archaeology are some decades old, all of which were initiated by anthropologists with the approach of neo-evolutionary schemes (Service 1962; Fried 1960; Fried 1967). Mainly based on ethnographic accounts, human groups were defined with set of attributes and classed into bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and states. One of which, chiefdom, had been defined through the focus on kinship systems, redistribution systems, the degree of egalitarian structures in the social relations, and the enforcement ability run by the group's leader if not a 'chief'. Geographically, the greater attention was paid to the New World regions, Hawaii in Polynesia being one of the most intensely studied areas (Earle 1977; Earle

1991). It now appears that the concept and the structures of chiefly societies have been argued and studied extensively. Over the decades, this classificatory 'evolutionary stepladder' research focus, especially on the chiefdom, was criticized as unilinear and not always fitting into case studies as a satisfactory scheme (Yoffee 1993). This is possibly why the definition of chiefdom has been evolving together with the focus on the range of attributes. Some of the attributes that are attached to the concept seem to work in some regions and time periods. The arguments today stress the new variables including aspects of the web of social relations, the roles of the individual, the decision making processes by the group and/or the individuals, and the various levels of inequality in relations. These aspects seem to shed more lights on how to see an ancient society and how societies were shaped and changed through their social interactions and complexities (Paytner 1989; McGuire 1983; McGuire 1992; McGuire and Saitta 1996).

In the Near East, aspects of social complexities were barely discussed in archaeological inquiry, except in some attempts by the earlier generation of American anthropologists (Redman 1978; Watson 1983; Wright 1984; 1986). Major concerns included defining the Halaf phenomenon as chiefdom and studying the processes of its development into state society. Due to nature of Near Eastern site formation and the lack of sufficient research, attributes for defining chiefly societies could not be clearly articulated and, as a result, the Halaf horizon today is weakly tied to the chiefdom. The nature of Halaf social organization and the long-term social developments are also unclear and yet to be understood. The qualitative state of available data together with the limitations of it before the 1990's, our current state of knowledge today, as well as the concept of chiefdom, derived from ethnography, were extensively discussed elsewhere by focussing on the Near Eastern contexts (Campbell 1992; Campbell 1998). With our current data, the questions of whether there was a communal leader and what roles this leader played in an emerging non-egalitarian system as a chiefdom society remain unanswered for the Halaf cases. Therefore, if one seeks answers to these questions, the term 'chief' should be defined specifically for the Near Eastern contexts. This definition will no doubt be reached through further ethnographic analogy and archaeological evidence from the Near Eastern cases.

Despite this, because of architecture, seals and sealings, miniature stone bowls, possible obsidian and pottery exchange, and possible two tier settlement hierarchy, Halaf settlements are beginning to be seen as more and more indicative of societies with the earliest emergence of social hierarchical structures within which egalitarianism was irreversibly fading (Campbell 1992; Campbell 1999 et. al.). In these circumstances, the ongoing Domuztepe excavations and the identification of Nevruzlu within the smaller Maraş region presents a promising case to study. Rather than the encompassing the entire North Mesopotamian Halaf geography, focussing on to Maraş region ensures more reliable conclusions because cultural variability with related attributes could be determined and possibly better controlled in a smaller region.

The excavated contexts from Domuztepe present various lines of evidence indicating the emergence of hierarchical social differentiation in the Maraş plain. One of the lines of evidence is the architecture. Despite the fact that no exclusively built structures exist at



Domuztepe, the exceptionally thick walled building on the highest part of the site might have some implications of non-domestic aspects; however, the excavators, for the moment, are reluctant to make definite remarks about this building and the existence of elite society since the architectural evidence is yet inconclusive (Campbell et. al. 1999: fig.8). Maybe the case from Tell Arpachiyah, so-called 'chief's house' (Mallowan, Rose 1935), can better tested and compared in the Domuztepe excavations.

The discovery of twenty-nine stamp seals from the surface and excavated contexts, probably signifying ownership and control over access to property and goods, suggests that groups or individuals with distinct social roles were established at Domuztepe (Campbell et. al. 1999). In such a case, Domuztepe would be a prime example for discussing the economy within which certain individuals gained the power to control access to food items and other goods, resulting in the emergence of new rules and new structures in the community, such as the gradually increasing importance of materialistic values, inequality, and exploitation. Despite the fact that the Nevruzlu survey did not produce any seals, seals and sealings indicating power relations, property control and trade might be found at other contemporary sites in the valley, such as KM 67. Apart from this, the preliminary level site catchment and population estimation at Domuztepe suggested that the community required additional agricultural and livestock support from outside. This condition would imply the organization of the flow of food from resources into the large community as well as the first appearance of individuals who played a role in this organization and benefited from access to resources, resulting in increased power in the long run. Seals might be the key material evidence to allow discussion of these issues.

Even though they were not found at Nevruzlu, miniature bowls made from black, brown, or dark gray soft stones recovered at Domuztepe may imply well-off individuals. Found only in small number, these well-executed, small forms with no apparent practical function, seem to indicate a purpose other than domestic. Perhaps they represent items for ostentatious display (Carter, Campbell and Snead 1999; see fig.5). Or, they may have been used by people as communal tools to execute utilitarian functions, one of which might have been ritualistic. Furthermore, Domuztepe excavations yielded a few pieces of exceptionally well-produced mahogany obsidian bowls. The excavators argued that the quality of craftsmanship, rarity of the material, and labor-intensive process would have resulted in a high value for these items. Thus, they would have likely been owned by privileged individuals who may have displayed them somehow as prestige goods symbolizing their wealth and power (Campbell et al. 1999).

Another line of evidence is the differing sizes of settlements. Through interactions in political and economic arenas, settlements may have taken on different social and economic roles; the importance of the sites would be correlated with the location and the size of the sites within a wider regional level as a cultural unity. On the basis of this assumption, when one looks at the sizes of Halaf settlements, an arbitrary two-tier hierarchy may be established. The discovery of large sites in recent years, such as the 20 ha. site of Domuztepe, the equally important 12 ha. Takyan Höyük in the Cizre-Silopi area, and Kazane Höyük in Urfa (Algaze et. al. 1991; Wattenmaker 1994; 1997), along with the rediscovery of Tell Kurdu in the Amuq

region exposing its substantial occupation of approximately 15 ha. area (Yener 2000a; Yener 2000b), indicates that there were sites which held a central position in their locales. These large sites may have maintained control of the regions – not necessarily forcefully – and maybe placed on top of the hierarchical pyramids. The sites between 3-5ha. size, such as KM 67 with its 2,5 ha. may represent the middle step of the pyramid. Grikiyacıyan, might be another example in the further East (Watson, LeBlanc 1990). The smaller sites, such as Nevruzlu in the Maraş Plain, or Fıstıklı Höyük in Birecik (Bernbeck and Pollock 1999), may constitute the lowest level sites in the pyramids. Therefore, it may be suggested that two-tier settlement hierarchies existed in the regions. As Campbell suggested once, it may be more fruitful to look at the Halaf period as consisting of rather small cultural units, in different locales, with some observable materialistic variabilities in archaeological records (Campbell 1992). The Maraş plain may represent one of the Halaf locales with its distinctive hierarchy and variability.

As a result, the data from the Domuztepe excavations and the pottery from the Nevruzlu survey help us to focus on the interactions during the times these two sites existed side by side. The distance between them (also nearby site KM 67 should be remembered here), their relative sizes, and now their similar date based on the similarity of their pottery assemblages indicate that they possibly involved in close cultural activities. More evidence, apart from some amount of pottery collected from this site is required for proposing a comprehensive, reliable, and testable hypothesis that will aid to understand the characteristics of interactions that took place between these contemporary sites. Such evidence, however, can only be obtained if systematic excavations are carried out at Nevruzlu before the current destructive processes cause the site to disappear.

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| Ware Groups      | Number      | Remark                                                                                          |
|------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Halaf Painted    | 188         | -                                                                                               |
| Halaf Plain      | 177         | No diagnostics sherds. Almost all of them are body pieces.                                      |
| Burnished        | 73          | -                                                                                               |
| Incised          | 13          | Very rare diagnostic sherds. Belong to large size vessels.                                      |
| Coarse Ware      | 191         | Might be mixed with Late Period coarse ware. Mostly body sherds.                                |
| Undetermined     | 86          | They may be coming from other ware groups but the attributes from the sherds are uninformative. |
| Late Period Ware | 286         | All abraded and small size sherds.                                                              |
| <b>TOTAL</b>     | <b>1014</b> |                                                                                                 |

Table 1. Distribution of pottery collected from Nevruzlu.

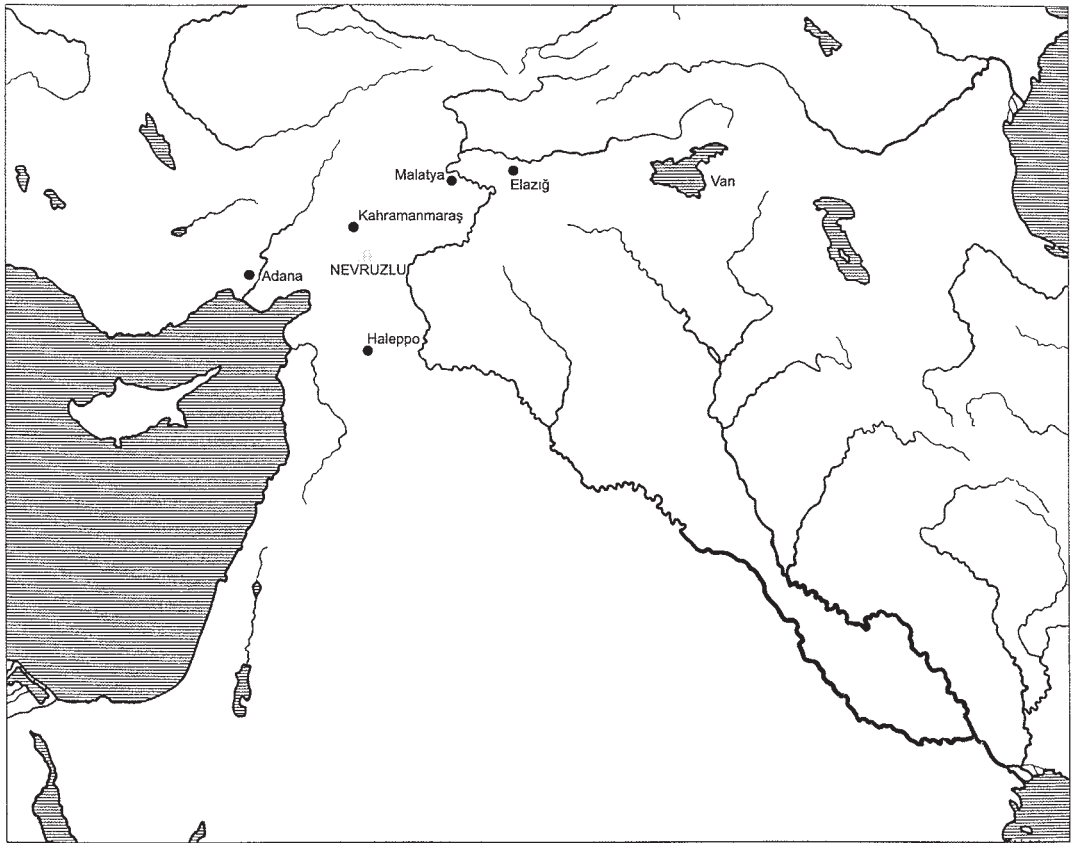


Fig. 1. Map of the Near East and Kahramanmaraş Region.

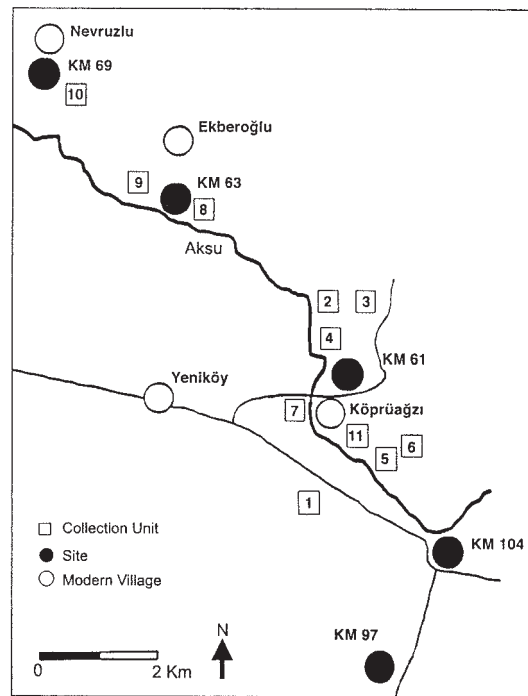


Fig. 2. Surroundings of Nevruzlu area.

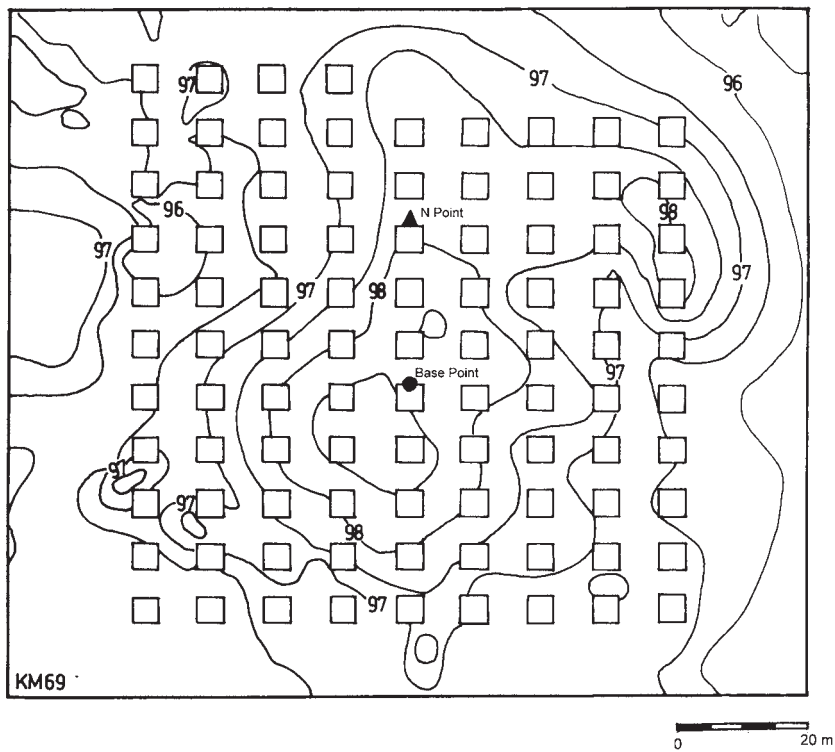


Fig. 3. Topographic map of Nevruzlu and the collection units.



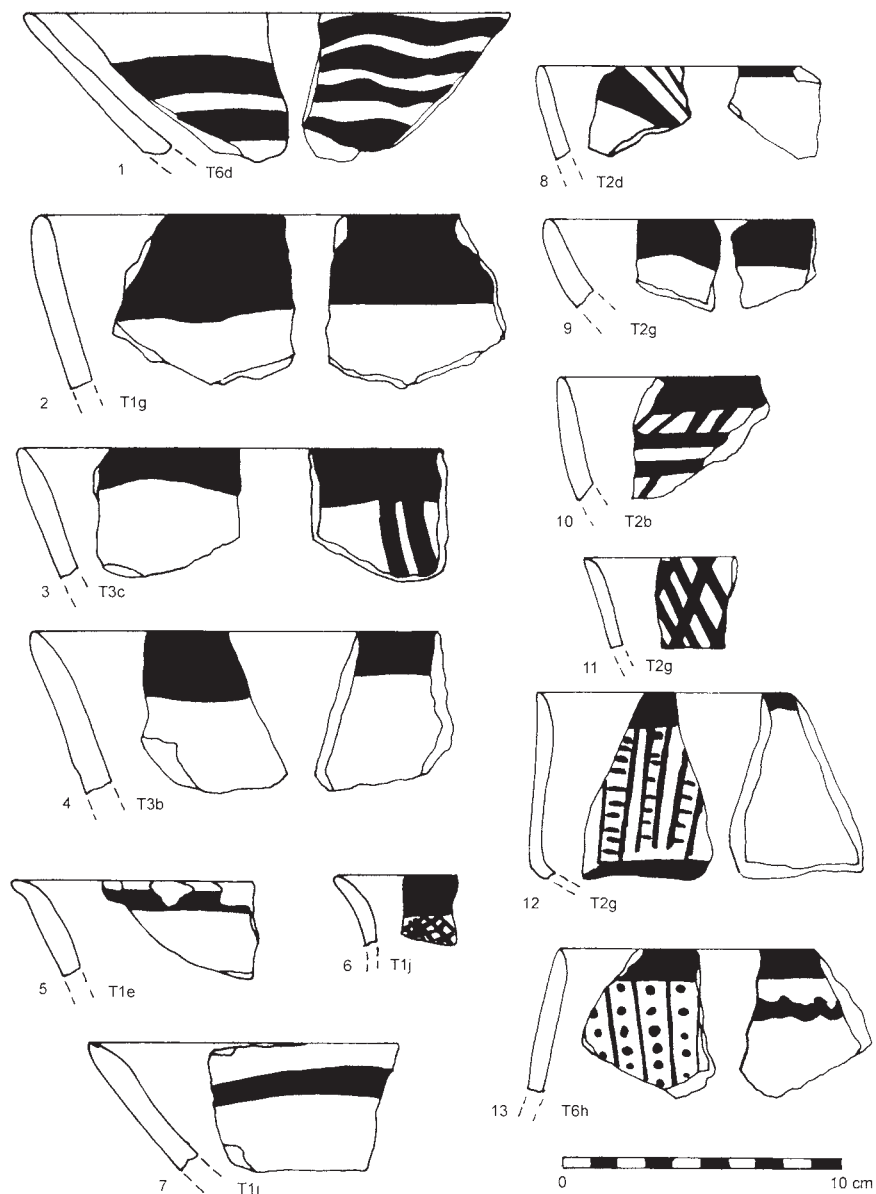


Fig. 4. Painted Halaf sherds.

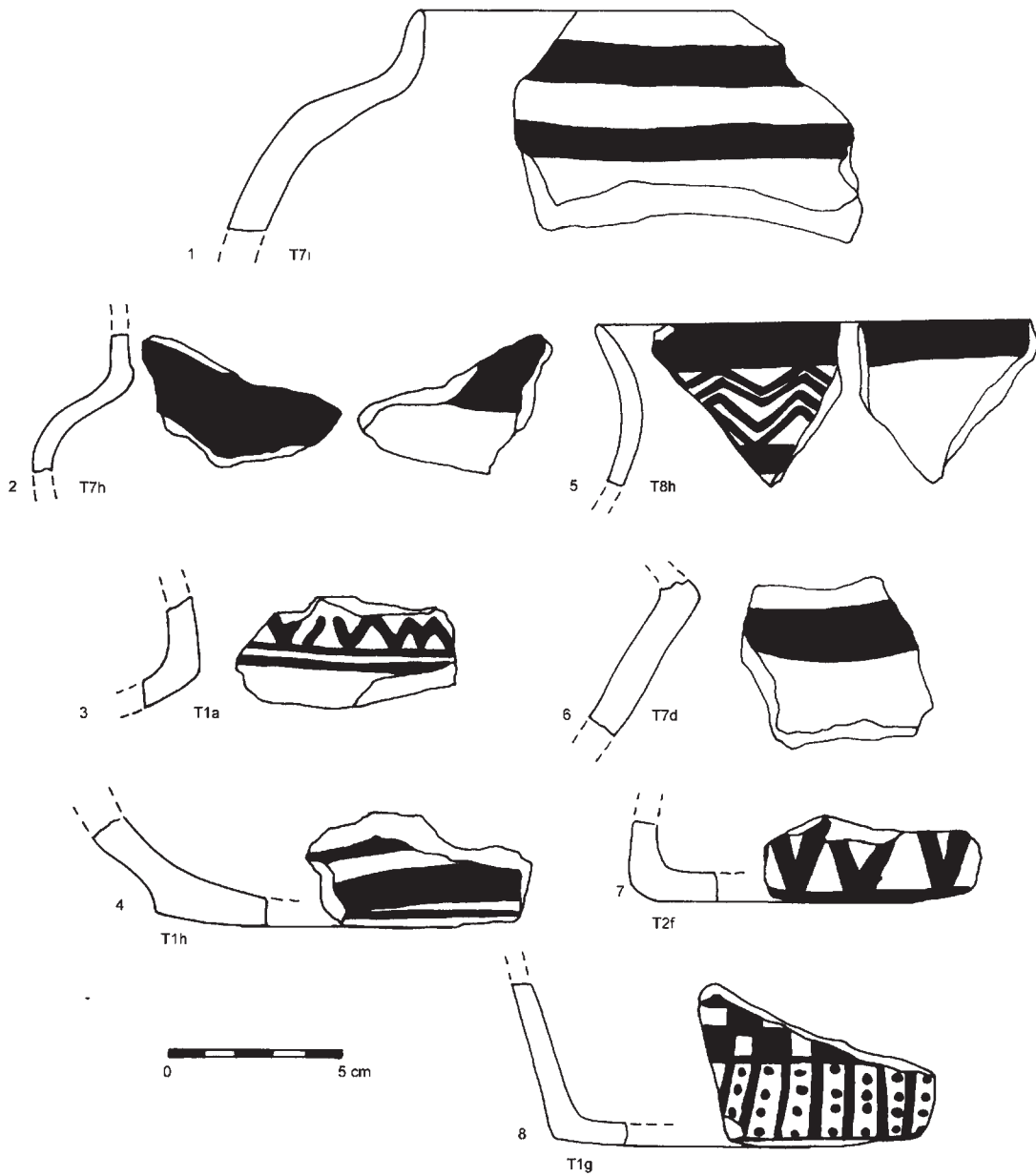


Fig. 5. Painted Halaf sherds.

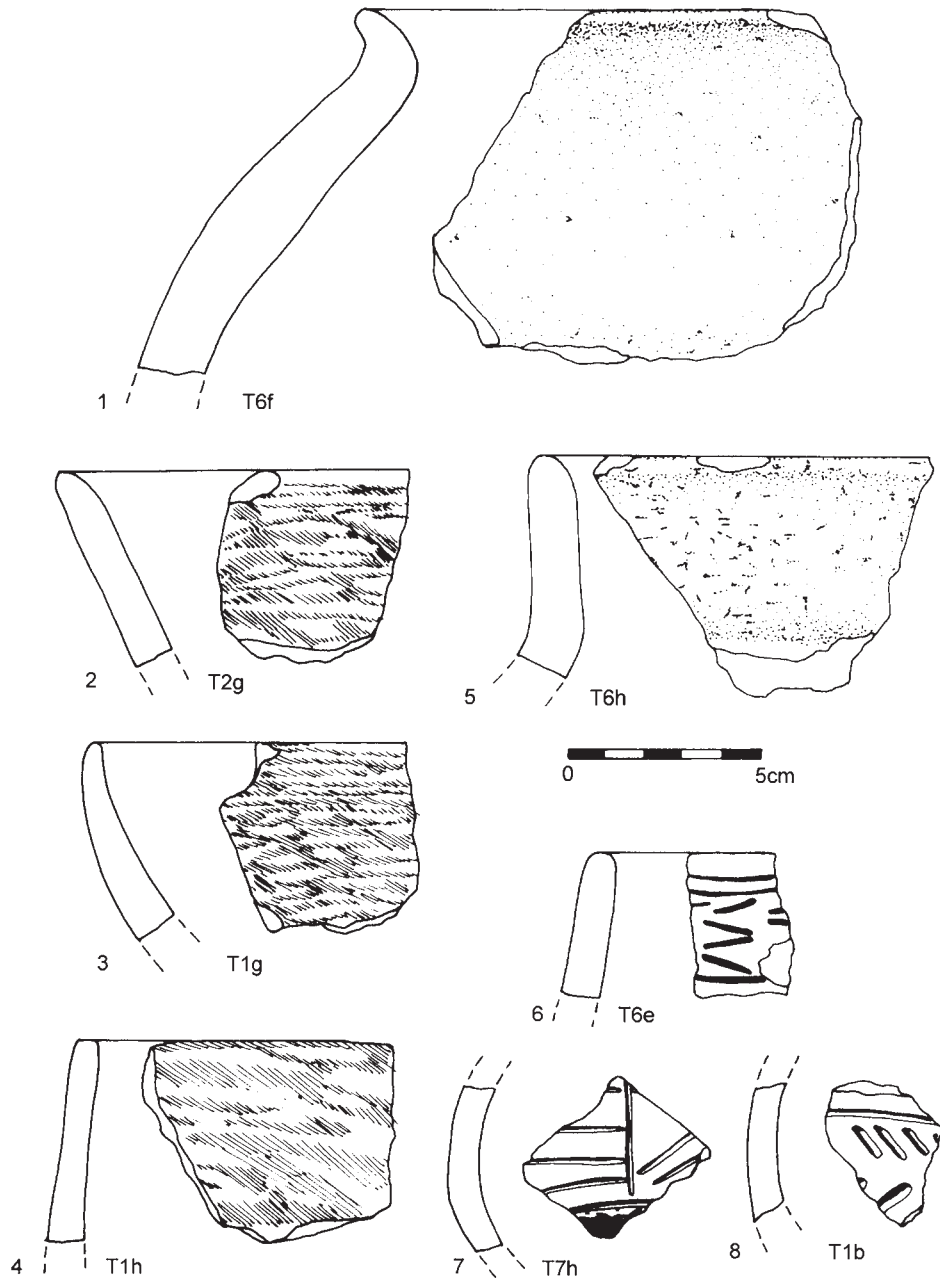


Fig. 6. Halaf Plain (1-5), and Incised (6-8) sherds.



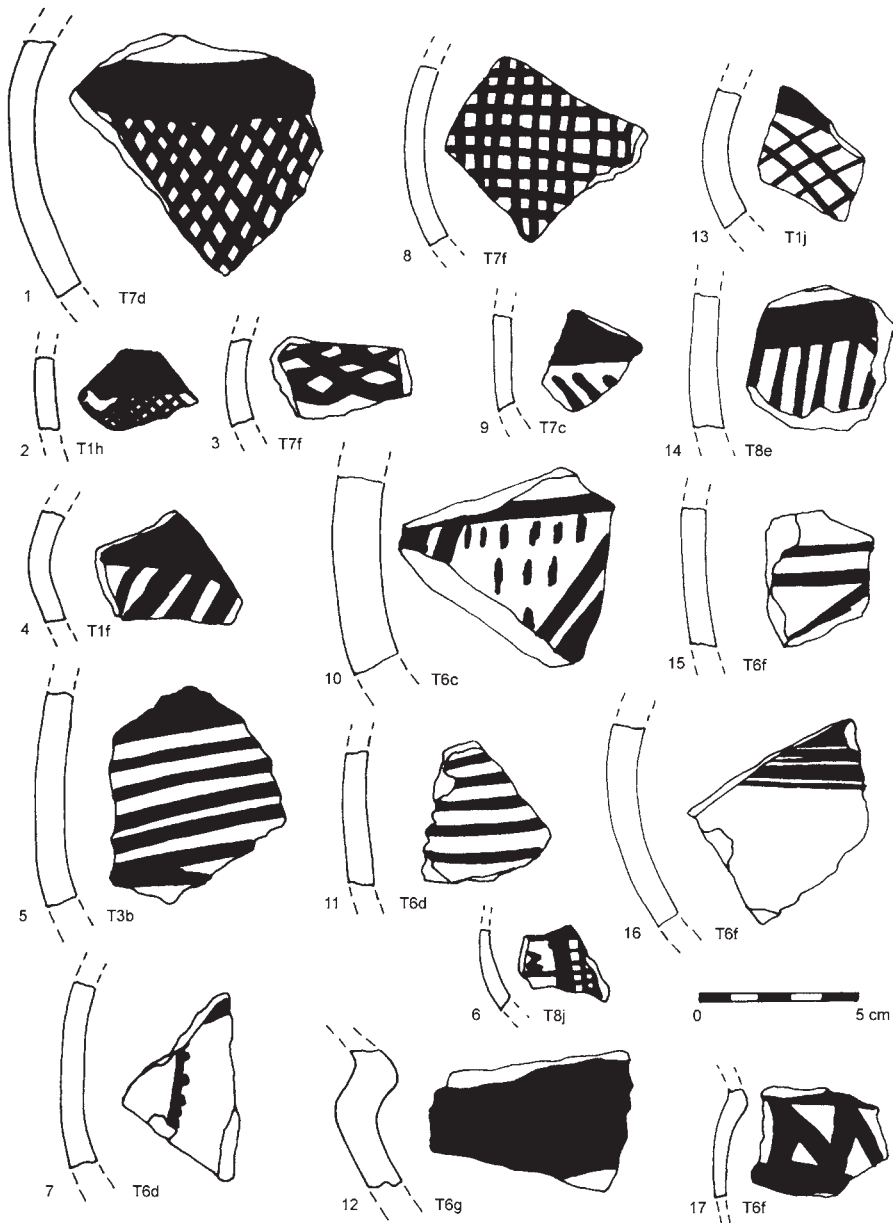


Fig. 7. Miscellaneous painted Halaf designs from Nevruzlu.

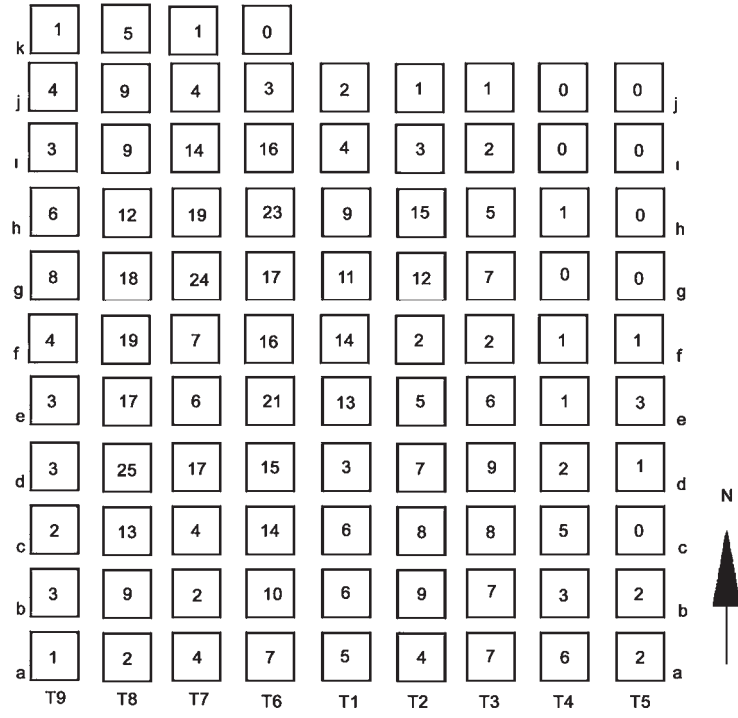


Fig. 8. Distribution of Halaf sherds by number.

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON A LEAD STAMP SEAL FROM THE BADEMAĞACI EXCAVATIONS

*Gülsün Umurtak<sup>1</sup>*

During the year 2000 excavations at Bademağacı Höyük a stamp seal was found in debris soil from a mixed context along with a group of finds, mainly belonging to the Middle Bronze Age, which included a “red cross bowl” and wheelmade, string cut vessels and bronze pins. Our interest was aroused by this lead seal because of the substance it is made of and also the striking nature of the motif on the stamp surface. The similarity observed between this seal and several other seals prompted us to examine the subject in more detail.

The Bademağacı seal has a stamp surface area 2 cm in diameter and 0.2 cm in thickness and a flat handle 1.4 cm in length (Fig. 1/a-b). The handle is behind the stamp surface of the seal, which is not in the centre but towards one edge, and there is a horizontal hole at the top of the handle. The motif of the stamp surface of the seal consists of a circle which is divided into four equal parts by a cross and in each of these sections there is a pair of everted chevrons, one inside the other and a small dot in the space in front of the chevron facing outwards.

It seems that the Bademağacı seal was made by first using a one-sided mould to form the stamp surface area. There is a mark from soldering or riveting at the point where the handle joins the seal. Looking at the sharp ridge in this section, it would seem that the handle was produced immediately after the first stage, also through pouring the substance into a mould, and that this protrusion was formed during the process<sup>2</sup>. The formation of the handle does not appear to have been very successful.

Although it is known that metal was used much less than stone and clay in the production of seals in prehistoric times, it is also likely that some of the metal seals did not survive until the present day. Apart from the one from Bademağacı (see Map), lead seals have so far been found in the late EBA II level at Karataş-Semayük, (Mellink 1969, Fig. 29 a-b)<sup>3</sup> and in level 12 at Alişar (Fig. 2/f; von der Osten 1937, Fig. 87/c576). A fairly close resemblance is observed between the motifs of the stamp surface areas of the seals from

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<sup>2</sup> I extend my thanks to Prof. Dr. Hadi Özbal for giving his comments on this subject.

<sup>3</sup> A drawing is not given in the article and the photograph of the seal does not provide information on the motifs of the stamp area.



Bademağacı and Alişar. The Alişar seal has a short, broad handle. It is possible to add examples of seals made from other metals to this group. Seals with a circular stamp surface area include examples from Tarsus-Gözlükule EBA II (Fig. 2/g; Goldman 1956, Fig. 392/15), from Mersin-Yumuktepe XVII (?) – it could not be clearly determined which level this one belonged to – (Fig. 2/a; Garstang 1953, Fig. 70), Soloi-Pompeipolis (Fig. 2/h; Bittel 1940, Pl. VI/S 3394), Alaca Höyük (Güterbock 1966, Pl. 32/f 82),<sup>4</sup> and Dikmen Höyük (Fig. 2/c; Özgüç 1945, Fig. 2). Seals with a rectangular stamp surface include examples from Alişar 13 (von der Osten 1937, Fig. 87/c 1481) and Poliochni XIV (Fig. 2/b; Bernabò-Brea 1964, Pl. CLXX/4; CLXXV/1. group); the motifs of the seals have common characteristics. In this group, the seals from Poliochni, Dikmen Höyük and Tarsus-Gözlükule are bronze, the seal from Soloi Pompeipolis is arsenical copper, the Alişar and Mersin seals are copper and the Alaca Höyük seal is made of iron (?) (*ibid*).

There is a main motif common to the stamp surface of all the seals listed above. According to H. G. Güterbock, the lines that form the motif on the stamp surface of the Alaca Höyük seal resemble fishbones and the seal has a small handle. Apart from Alaca Höyük, there are no other examples with lines drawn in the form of fishbones. The seals from Dikmen Höyük, Mersin-Yumuktepe, Tarsus-Gözlükule and Soloi-Pompeipolis are long, and the Poliochni seal is small and cylindrical and has slanted handles; in this way these seals differ somewhat in shape from the lead seals of Bademağacı and Alişar.

The bronze seal from the MBA cemetery at Sarıket (Fig. 2/d; Seeher 2000, Fig. 64/h) and the Thermi seal, which is described as being either copper or bronze (Fig. 2/e; Lamb 1936, Fig. 50, Pl. XXV) have a cross-shaped motif with other motifs in the symmetrical areas around it on their stamp surfaces and in this way show some similarity to the seals mentioned above.

An important group of finds to be taken into consideration when examining metal seals are the stone moulds. Close similarities with the stamp surface of the Bademağacı seal have been observed in the moulds from Abu Habba (Fig. 3/a; British Museum No. 91902), and Akhisar (Fig. 3/b; Louvre Museum AO. 1526), It can be seen from the Akhisar (Fig. 3/c), Lipchitz (Fig. 3/d), and İzmir (Fig. 3/e) moulds that the motif concerned was usually used on seals with a rectangular stamp surface (Canby 1965, Pl. IX/d, X/a; Emre 1971, Pl. I/2, I/3, II/1, III/1; Fig. 11).

The fact that seals with very similar stamp surfaces have been found in different moulds would indicate that these seals were mass produced. Stone moulds were used in the production of items such as earrings, pendants, pins, amulets and figurines as well as seals. It is significant that there are no tools or functional items among these very attractive small decorative or symbolic objects. The discovery of metal seals with the same motif on their stamp surfaces over a very wide geographical area from Poliochni to Gözlükule and from Bademağacı to Alişar can be explained by the widespread use of these small moulds. J. V. Canby suggests that travelling metallurgists may have carried these small moulds with

<sup>4</sup> Güterbock does not mention which level the seal belongs to, but the photograph of this object is published with the Hittite seals (*ibid*. p. 104).

them, which would not have added a lot of extra weight, and produced items according to orders made at the places they visited (Canby 1965, 52 f. "portable trinket factories"). The Bademağacı seal would lead us to think that these travelling metallurgists may have preferred to use lead rather than more expensive metals. As it melts at 327.4 C°, lead is one of the easiest metals to work and it is known that lead ore (galena) melts at a temperature lower than 800° C (Renfrew 1967, 4; Tylecote 1976, 168). According to R. F. Tylecote, lead can even be melted in a camp area in a fire lit within a circle of dry stones (Tylecote 1962, 76). In addition to this, the acceptance of lead by ordinary people as a metal of lower value and cost has already been mentioned by various researchers (Emre 1971, 81).

Several similar seals made of clay rather than lead have been found in recent years in the EBA II levels at the Bademağacı Excavations (Fig. 3/f-h). Although of less value, people not able to afford metal seals must have obtained duplicates of these seals made of clay, stone or bone and it can be concluded that in the production of these seals the repetition of the motives was more important than their shape or form. This factor can be observed in examples from centres in different cultural regions of Anatolia such as Karataş-Semayük EBA (Mellink 1965, Pl. 64/37 a-b; 1967 Pl. 84/56), Çukurkent (Mellaart 1954, p. 184/91), Kusura B (Lamb 1937, Fig. 12/18-20), Ahlatlıbel (Koşay 1934, p. 71/Ab.30), Etiyokuşu (Kansu 1940, Fig. 78-79), Karaoğlan (Alkım 1968, Fig. 58), Alışar 12, 13 (von der Osten 1937, Fig. 87/e 1909, c 481), Tarsus-Gözlükule EBA II, MBA (Goldman 1956, Fig. 392/7, 393/27), Aslantepe VI (Palmieri 1969, Fig. 30/2) and Tepecik EBA II (Esin 1972, Pl. 109/3-4). In addition to these examples, it is not possible to separate from this group four seals made of steatite that were purchased from Aleppo, İzmir, Antioch (Antakya) and Ephesus and are now in private collections abroad (Hogarth 1920, Fig. 126-128, 216). The motif being examined here is also seen on the pendant of a stone mould of unknown origin (Fig. 3/i; British Museum No. 117717; Emre 1971, Pl. II/5) and on a golden button (?) (Fig. 3/j) and an object in the shape of a bobbin (Fig. 3/k), both found at Troy (Schmidt 1902, no. 6434; no. 8444). It also appears on a bronze pendant found in the debris on top of the Hittite defence wall ruins at Boğazköy (Fig. 3/l; Boehmer 1972, Fig. 17/a; Pl. I/6).

Although this motif has no direct or chronological connection with that of the Bademağacı seal, there are examples of it in much earlier periods and in different regions. Enver Bostancı compares the cross-shaped motifs seen in the Beldibi cave paintings (Bostancı 1959, Pl. I) with some examples from France and Spain, belonging to the Neolithic Period and earlier, and suggests that these depictions sometimes symbolise man and sometimes symbolise the sun (*ibid.*, 133). The cross motif with three-pointed ends like a fork seen in the wall paintings from Level VI at Çatal Höyük is considered to be some kind of astral symbol (Mellaart 1963: Pl. VIIIb). Although the motif seen on the Bademağacı seal also appears on seals from Tepe Gawra XI-XII (Wickede 1990, Fig. 34/7; Fig. 253a-b, 262), Farukābād B (*ibid.* Fig. 511) and Susa A (*ibid.* Fig. 522-525) at a considerably earlier date, it is not possible to speak of any connection between the two groups. According to B. L. Goff, some of the preferences of the Ubaid artisans are reflected in the seals of the Gawra Period; the spaces of the circle motif divided into four were sometimes filled with

chevrons and the use of this kind of motif continued with variations (Goff 1963, 128, Fig. 498).

The motif being examined also appears on the stamp impressions of some cylinder seals of Old Assyrian and Old Syrian style from level II at Kaneš Karum (Fig. 4/a-b; Özgüç 1989, Pl. 86-87/5, 96-97/7). In these examples the motif appears inside an astral disk with a crescent, which is placed in line with the head of a seated figure of a god being worshipped. There seem to be many variations of the motif between the impressions of the Kültepe 'Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seals' (Özgüç 1965) and the Konya Karahöyük stamp seals (Fig. 4/c-d; Alp 1972, Fig. 144-147). Nimet Özgüç says that "with the star remaining the main motif, astral disks filled with various designs show great resemblance to those of the stamp seals widely used in Anatolia before the Assyrian Trade Colonies" and suggests that the stamp seal motifs represent astral symbols (Özgüç 1965, 33). A similar motif is found among Hittite seals (Fig. 4/e; Seidl 1972, Fig. 4/A43, A44, 5/A45).

Another similar motif to the one on the Bademağacı seal comes from the Cyclades. This stamp-cylinder seal made of green stone (Renfrew 1967, Lev. 4/19) was found in Kapros grave D on the Amorgos Island. The design on the cylinder part of this seal is a series of single centred circles with chevrons between them. The stamp surface underneath the seal is very similar to our examples. Colin Renfrew says that this motif is seen on Minoan seals and on Keros-Syros pottery (*ibid.* 7).

Even though the motif being examined is not as widespread as the "swastika" (Black-Green 1992, 171), the extensive use of it over a very long period in geographical regions distant from one another in the Near East indicates that this was not a personal or regional symbol but a universal astral symbol. This theme was small enough to portray in the limited area of the stamp surface and was also an easy design to execute.<sup>5</sup> This association challenges the theory that these seals were used to indicate possession of personal property; instead of this, it is possible to assume that these seals were stamped onto communal goods not made of resilient materials and the stamps did not therefore survive to the present day (Umurtak 2000) and that, in addition to this use, seals were also made as a kind of amulet for people to carry.

Considering the architectural levels where clay parallels to the lead seal from Bademağacı were found, it appears that seals with this kind of stamp surface first began to be used in the same settlement in level 3 dating to EBA II (Duru 2000, 189 f.). As at Bademağacı, one of the seals at Alişar is made of lead and the other is copper and the motifs of these seals closely resemble our example; an examination of these seals and the other finds of this level should help in the establishing of an accurate stratigraphy for Alişar and put an end to the controversy over the terminology. Among the other examples of this group there is a seal from Dikmen Höyük, which is a surface find dated by Tahsin Özgüç to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC (Özgüç 1945, 291). According to Kurt Bittel, the Soloi-Pompeipolis seal belongs stylistically to the early centuries of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium (Bittel 1940, 211-212). There are some dating problems related to the seal found in the

<sup>5</sup> It is not easy to say that the motif being examined here is in anyway related to the "signe royal".



debris of level XVII at Mersin-Yumuktepe, as John Garstang explains (Garstang 1953, 108) – this seal may have come from the soil of later levels that may have become mixed with this level during the excavations. We think that although the motif on the stamp surface of this seal is seen in Mesopotamia before the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, the substance it is made of and its shape indicate that it should be examined together with other examples of metal seal groups. The Amorgos seal, which has a similar stamp surface to the Bademağacı example, was compared by Henry Frankfort to seals from the Jemdet Nasr Period (Frankfort 1939, 70, 301), but Colin Renfrew thought it should be dated to the end of EBA, to around 1900 BC (Renfrew 1967, 7). Although the shape of the Amorgos seal resembles the stamp-cylinder seals of the Tyskiewicz group (Alexander 1973), the motif on the stamp surface leads us to accept the dating suggested by C. Renfrew.

The *terminus post quem* of the metal seals, and the seals made of clay, stone and bone with similar stamp surfaces from various regions of Anatolia geographically distant from one another, can be estimated as the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC; it appears that the use of this motif continued throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium with some small alterations. This assessment generally complies with the dating previously assigned to the stone moulds (Emre 1971, 50). The “red cross bowl” and the wheelmade pottery that were found in the debris soil together with the lead seal at Bademağacı must belong to an as yet unknown settlement, the architectural remains of which have not yet been determined. We think that this settlement and the finds that belong to it should date to the period from around the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium. The form of the Bademağacı “red cross bowl” does not resemble the examples from the extensive distribution area of these bowls in Anatolia and the Aegean (Korfmann 1983), for example Beycesultan level VII and VIa (Lloyd-Mellaart 1962, Fig. P.57/26,31; P.64/23, 26) and Troy V (Blegen and others 1951, Fig. 240/32.69, 33.527; 246). The parallels in form to the Bademağacı vessel are found at Beycesultan levels VIa (Lloyd-Mellaart 1962, Pl. P.64/3) and V (Lloyd-Mellaart 1965, Fig.P5/10) among the monochrome wares. This situation complies with the dates we have suggested for the Bademağacı lead seal.<sup>6</sup>

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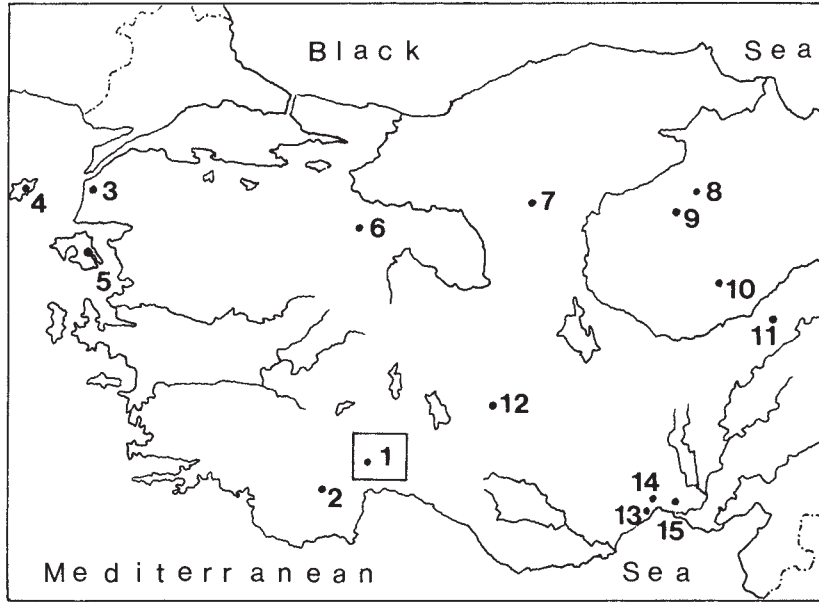
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 6-Sarıket-Demircihöyük, 7-Dikmen Höyük, 8-Alaca Höyük, 9-Boğazköy,  
 10-Alişar, 11-Kültepe, 12-Konya-Karahöyük, 13-Soloi-Pompeipolis,  
 14-Mersin-Yumuktepe, 15-Tarsus-Gözlükule

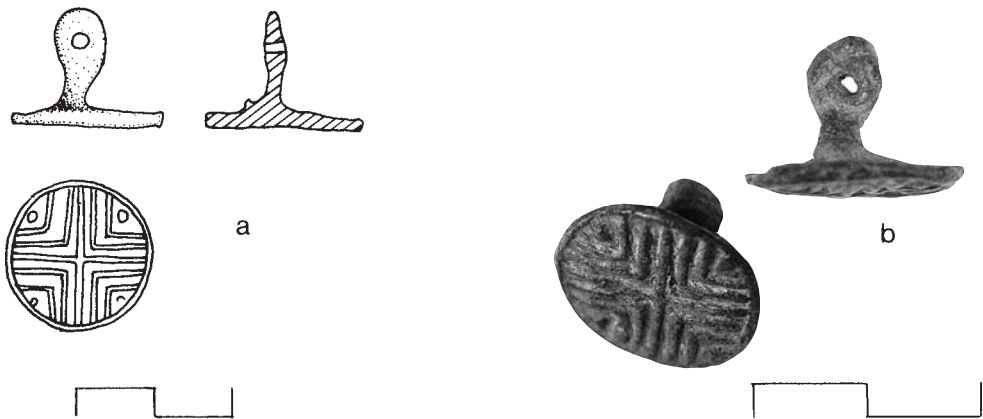


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

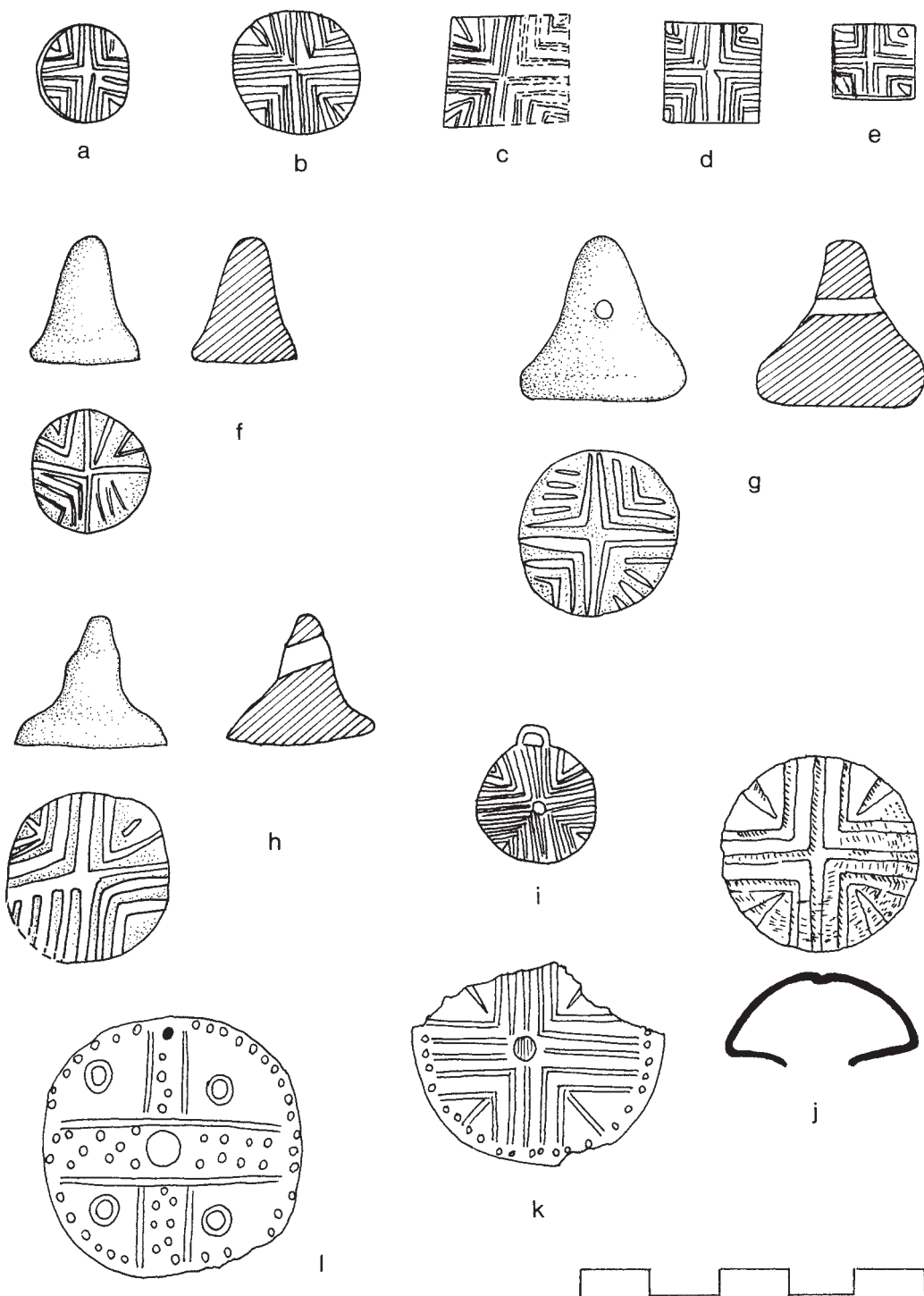


Fig. 3.

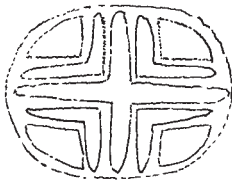




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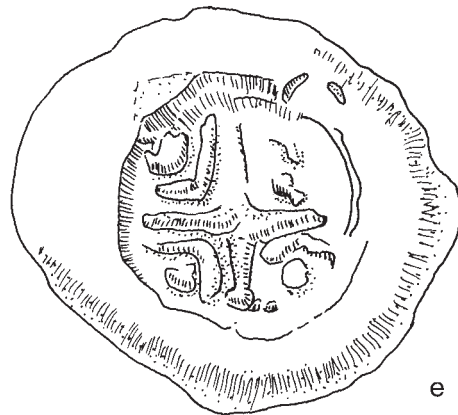
b



c



d



e



Fig. 4.

## **GALABOVO POTTERY AND A NEW SYNCHRONISATION FOR THE BRONZE AGE IN UPPER THRACE WITH ANATOLIA**

*K. Leshtakov*<sup>1</sup>

The rescue excavations of the Galabovo Tell (“Assara”) near the village of Rozov Kladenets<sup>2</sup> brought to light a number of new problems concerning different aspects of the prehistoric cultures in Southeast Europe (for example economic models and the trade system cf. Leshtakov 1996). Although the investigations are incomplete and only a quarter of the settled area has been excavated at a depth of c. 1 m, the finds from levels 4-1a have provoked considerable interest.

In this study I would only like to summarise the information on the pottery from Galabovo 4-1a levels and to discuss the possibility of working out a new stage of synchronisation of the cultures in Upper Thrace with those in Anatolia and the Aegean (Fig. 1). In order to ensure the success of this attempt, first we should try to avoid one methodological instrument called “The Chronological fault line” still present in relative chronology of the late prehistory in the Balkans. The term was introduced in literature by C. Renfrew in the early seventies after the application of the radiocarbon dating and the interpretation of the cultural development within the autochthonic theory<sup>3</sup>. A well-known fact is that the synchronisation of Troy I with the Vinča–Karanovo III – Vesselinovo horizon was the “cornerstone” for the “short chronology”. This problem has been widely discussed and a consideration of the old

<sup>1</sup> Sofia University.

<sup>2</sup> Today the village is under the waters of the dam-lake Rozov Kladenets, and its vicinity now belongs to the town of Galabovo. The site is known in the current literature under the name “Tell Galabovo”, since the toponym “Assara” (“Fortress”) is very popular – there are other two sites nearby bearing the same names. The following abbreviations are used in the study: BA – Bronze Age; EBA, MBA and LBA – Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age; EIA – Early Iron Age; EH, MH and LH – Early Helladic, Middle Helladic and Late Helladic (Age); EC and MC – Early Cycladic and Middle Cycladic (Age); EM and MM – Early Minoan and Middle Minoan (Age).

<sup>3</sup> The basic ideas of this study were summarised in a brief report titled “Is it possible to break down C. Renfrew’s “The Chronological fault line” held on the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress on Thracology in Constanța at the end of May 1996. The problems of synchronisation provoked a discussion. It became clear that the new data are important and are to be considered on a broader basis. A short Bulgarian variant of the report was published in “Minalo”, cf. Leshtakov 1997, 4-17. In order not to interrupt the logic of the statement, part of the text of the above mentioned report ought to be reproduced here as well. The manuscript was prepared for print in the early 1998 but due to economical and political changes that time it was not possible to publish it. The author hopes that the item is still actual for the Balkan and Anatolian prehistory. Some new references were added in course of my study in DAI Istanbul in February 2001. I am grateful to the former Director Prof. Dr. H. Hauptmann for the opportunity to meet the new information there.

arguments is meaningless<sup>4</sup>. The application of the new dating method has proved in general, that the Balkan Late Neolithic cultures are much earlier, than had been thought before<sup>5</sup>. Gradually the EBA in Southeast Europe emerged as a separate entity seen side by side with the Chalcolithic cultures. As C. Renfrew has pointed out, the radiocarbon dating is of primary importance in the new synchronisation, but nevertheless, Troy preserved its position as a chronological standard (Renfrew C. 1973:103-104). The crucial site of Troy is linked with other locations along the Northern Aegean coast in an arch-shaped line. Dates from the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC onwards remain unchanged, but the cultures beyond the line go back at least several centuries. The idea of "The Chronological fault line" (Fig. 2) which was adopted from geology, stands for the sinking of a section of the strata which leads to a break of the links. Thus, the geological layers are divided by the borderline into two parts. The geological layers in both sides of the line preserve their stratigraphy, but the main picture is lost. In archaeological terms, the process indicates "sinking" into time of the whole region from one side of the line, while the chronological horizons from the other side remain in the same position. In this case, a "sinking" Neolithic block in Southeast Europe is replaced by the EBA block (Renfrew C. 1973:44, Fig. 7; 104, Fig. 20).

The re-orientation of the European specialists in prehistory according to the new scheme requires considerable time. Compromise variants are also suggested which further complicates the situation. A case in point of this confusion is an erudite such as Prof. H. Thomas. According to him the Late Chalcolithic in Southeast Europe is dated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. Bulgarian sites are correctly synchronised with Anatolian EBA, but are referred as "Late Chalcolithic" according to the Central European terminology. On the other hand, the real Late Chalcolithic cultures in the North (Sălcuța, Krivodol and Gumelnița) are synchronised with Karanovo VII, Sv. Kirilovo and Vesselinovo II, on no ground at all. During the first stage of his "Late Chalcolithic" period the sites Karanovo VII and Mihalich (ca. 3000-2600 BC) indicated the strong influence of Troy. The second stage of the "Late Chalcolithic" (c. 2600-2300 BC) is synchronised with Troy II and the Macedonian EBA. The horizon includes Karanovo VII, Sălcuța IVa, late Gumelnița IV, late Krivodol and Cherna Voda. The third stage of the "Late Chalcolithic" is represented by the Coșofeni culture in the Danube, which continued until the beginning of the EBA (Thomas H. 1967: 98-112).

The radiocarbon dating and the adoption of the "The Chronological fault line" method lead to the establishment of new synchronisation lines in the frameworks of "a long

<sup>4</sup> About the "Vesselinovo Syndrome" cf. Nikolov V. 1998:10-16, esp. 10-11.

<sup>5</sup> Quite recently, the classical methods of V. Milojević was successfully applied on the synchronisation of the complex Vinča – Karanovo III with Anatolia. The comparative analysis indicates that the method is correct in the current archaeology, if it is based on a large information basis (Nikolov V. 1998). The same conclusion has already been made also from Anatolian point of view, "... if the dates of the Central Anatolian cultures are lowered, the so-called "chronological fault line separating Asia from Europe" (Renfrew C. 1973:103-106) will disappear" (Özdoğan M., Y. Miyake, O. Dede. 1991:65).



chronology”<sup>6</sup>. However, most scholars even now could hardly accept the equalization of the EBA 3/MBA cultures in Upper Thrace with Troy II-V or with the Aegean EBA/MBA. Accordingly, the zones separated by the “fault line” those times could not practically have been connected, which would lead to a new line of separation. This situation is due to the lack of concrete artefacts in the discussed areas that could provide clear line or chain-comparison. According to C. Renfrew the radiocarbon dating has a leading role to the north of the “fault line”, while in the south the dating relied mainly on true imports and “chain dating”. These two basic methods are used to “transfer” historical dates from Egypt and Mesopotamia to the Cyclades and Central Anatolia. However, C. Renfrew has made a small proviso. According to him the comparative dating can be achieved well enough even without radiocarbon dates, only when well-excavated sites with precise stratigraphy and detailed typology of the artefacts are available. Radiocarbon dates are used for correlating the sequence in separate regions, and the traditional methods are also applicable: “... crossdating by means of undoubted exports and imports remains a legitimate procedure” (Renfrew C. 1973:105). However, at that time the author could not break up the “fault line”, i.e. could not prolong the historical chronology to the north in the Balkans.

Hence, a real dividing line appears between the Balkans and the Aegean-Anatolian region, referring to the BA. Initially, it only had a chronological value without any cultural meaning (Fig. 2, 2). However, the existence of real imports is confined to the south, while Southeast Europe could chiefly rely on the radiocarbon dating. Beyond any doubt, this situation was caused by the lack of true imports in Southeast Europe and the scarcity of comparable finds after the time of Troy I. Thus the line becomes concrete, theoretically connecting BA cultures and at the same time separating them as different dating methods were applied.

This line has been dividing Southeast Europe from the Aegean for more than twenty years. Some authors had already tried to break it up by incorporating Upper Thrace into the Aegean cultural sphere (Katinčarov R. 1982; Treuil R. 1983:2, 15-18), but there was no real ground for their comparisons. The arguments were not based on the “chain dating” and isolated imports known that time have not been profoundly discussed<sup>7</sup>. Researchers mainly used parallels taken from the mass-pottery production (Georgiev G. Il., N. J. Merpert, R.V. Katinčarov etc. 1979: 306-315, 499-504). This way one can only prove the common historical development of Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly and Troad (Katinčarov R. 1982). Even recent investigations do not indicate considerable progress, despite the meticulousness of the authors

<sup>6</sup> The idea was adopted with admiration in Bulgarian archaeology. According to one of the outlined links, the Ezero culture should be contemporary with Troy I-II or, in the most daring assumptions, before Troy I until Troy V, which could hardly be accepted without any reactions even in Bulgaria.

<sup>7</sup> The overestimation of the time statistic-mathematical methods in this case fully excluded the taxonomy – for instance the Ezero monograph is a good example for the incorrect usage of statistics. The parallels of mass-production of two or more geographically separated sites (for instance Ezero – Troy – Poliochni – Termi) lead only to the idea for a common imaginary line of development. The imports are considered as exotic exceptions in this picture, and *vice versa* only the imports could properly correlate the incomparable stratigraphical sequence of the “village” Ezero and the “Anatolian town” Troy or “Aegean city” Poliochni.

(Parzinger H. 1993). In this case the “credit” goes to the almost unreadable database in Upper Thrace and the fact that besides Ezero, no other site has been published in detail.

Some foreign authors divide the Bulgarian lands into two parts. Northern Bulgaria with the Stara Planina is connected to the Danube and Central Europe, and South Bulgaria is included in the Thracian-Macedonian cultural sphere. This area comprises the lands from the Stara Planina mountains to the Aegean coastal zone, and its centre is localised in Upper Thrace. Considered from the south, the Bulgarian BA is an isolated phenomenon and a contact zone to the South as well (Harding A. 1983:176). In the latter aspect the confrontation between the Central European and Aegean chronologies is obvious. The authors agree that the  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates of Ezero are of primal importance for Southeast Europe, but the assigning of the pottery from this site to the EBA in general is tentative. According to some scholars<sup>8</sup>, real EBA in Central Europe begins with the “Bell-beaker culture”, i.e. after 2300 BC and continues until 2100/1850 BC. In the Southeast, for example in Upper Thrace, it might have begun earlier, still the years around 2300 BC are generalised as the most appropriate for the transition from the Late Chalcolithic to the EBA in the entire Southeast of Europe (Erich R., H. Bankoff 1992:394 with. ref.).

After another opinion, Bulgaria and Upper Thrace are divided into two other parts – East and West. According to some authors, natural geographic passes connect the eastern part with the western Black Sea coast and via Dobrugea with the steppes of the North Pontic region, and to the south – via the valleys of Tundzha, Maritsa and Arda – with the Aegean region and Anatolia. The western area is connected with Northern Greece by the Struma valley, to the north of the Sofia plain with the Middle Danube, and to the west with the Central Balkans (Fol A., J. Lichardus, R. Katinčarov et al. 1989:7). In this case the correlation of the stratigraphic sequence of the East and West Upper Thracian tells (Ezero, Karanovo, Nova Zagora, Galabovo with Yunatsite and Razkopanitsa) is of a great value for the synchronisation of the Central European scheme with the Aegean one.

The total rejection of the hypothesis that Thrace was a part of the vast Aegean-Anatolian cultural sphere should also be pointed out. Arguments are drawn from a “general cultural” picture and the differences in economic models on the both sides of the “fault line” (Özdoğan M. 1991:217-225; 1993:151-163 with. ref.). Other authors have criticised the concrete pottery parallels, and hence the chronological horizons based on them, without regarding the nature of the society in general (Parzinger H. 1993:84-141). The synchronisation of Ezero with Kum Tepe, Poliochni and Troy is tentative due to the lack of published true imports in a steady archaeological context. On the other hand, the high  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates from the earliest Ezero levels have not been a decisive argument for the existence of a real pre-Troy stage of the EBA in Upper Thrace (Manning S. 1995:168 with ref.).

After the decline of enthusiasm towards mathematical methods applied to mass-pottery

<sup>8</sup> The subject of the discussion is not the total terminological confusion in Romanian, Serbian, and Bulgarian literature regarding what should be called “Chalcolithic”, what is “a transitional period” and when does EBA start. As a matter of fact, one and the same phenomenon occurring in the three present states has three different names.

evidence, many realised that the correlation of large information massifs or excerpts serves its purpose well only within dialectical materialism but not in the proper archaeological studies. The common traits of the pottery manufacture turned out to be an insufficient argument as to defend the Thracian-Trojan cultural and/or even ethnical unity. Lacking historical sources<sup>9</sup>, today more and more authors rely on the important individual finds, rather than only on the statistical analysis.

The wheel-made “Depata” drinking-cups from Baadere nearby the village of Michalich have been seen in the foreign literature as the only true imports without any objections. Until recently there were no other symptomatic artefacts with a definite southern origin. Depata, however, are chance finds and eventually turned out to be of little significance to Bulgarian prehistory. Assigning them to the EBA II, i.e. associating them uncritically with the Michalich-Troy I pottery from the Michalich site itself, excavated by V. Mikov, led to the synchronisation of the EBA II in Thrace with the EBA III in Anatolia. Accordingly, the EBA III in Upper Thrace should be contemporary with the MBA in Anatolia (opposition of the idea is in Leshtakov K. 1993a: 556-560 with ref.). Thus, the tri-partial division of the EBA, which corresponded well to the Aegean and Anatolia EBA, was changed<sup>10</sup>. Chronologically incomparable phenomena were synchronised, but since there were no empirical grounds for this and none could be found, the following was done:

- a) EBA in Thrace was divided into two stages, and the third one (Sv. Kirilovo) was indicated as MBA (“Nova Zagora MBA culture”);

The lack of parallels between the “Nova Zagora MBA culture” after R. Katinčarov (i.e. EBA III - “Sv. Kirilovo” after G. Il. Georgiev) and the EBA II in Anatolia and the Aegean was explained with the greater independence of cultural development and with the obliteration of the links between them;

- b) The “Nova Zagora MBA culture” was synchronised in a western direction with the “Yunatsite culture”, whose last stage was placed in the time of Bubanj Hum III or even in the second stage of this group in East Serbia. Hence, according to the “imported Minyan pottery” (MH II in Southern Greece), found without context in Velika Humska Čuka, the MBA in Upper Thrace was dated not through Anatolia, but along the line of the geographically remote Continental Greece. Today this operation is justifiably criticised and “the Minyan pottery” – presumably “grey Thracian ware” from the LIA – is not considered as a chronological argument. Thus, a large number of authors lost faith that the

<sup>9</sup> I do not envisage here the super-interpretations of mythical “historical” sources and the heroic genealogies, so conveniently giving proof of the Thracian centralist thesis about the military blocks during the Trojan War.

<sup>10</sup> The hypothesis about the existence of three stages of the EBA in Thrace is well grounded and is shared by most of the pre-historians in Bulgaria. The arguments concern the existence of EBA III. G. Il. Georgiev (1967:124) includes the Ezero culture, IV-I level to the Sv. Kiril-Methodievo stage, differentiating it by a number of features in the pottery. Later, the same author has divided Ezero into stages I, II and III. Stage II corresponds to Mihalich and is dated to 2400-2300 BC. Stage III, represented also in Karanovo VIIb, is a development of the culture from the EBA II-stage Mihalich (Georgiev G. Il. 1979, 81). The same is the opinion of N.J. Merpert, who dates Sv. Kirilovo (or Sv. Kiril-Methodievo) and Vesselinovo II to the EBA, and not to the MBA, as supposed R. Katinčarov later (cf. Merpert N.J. 1972:240 and summary in Leshtakov 1994:556-557).



relationship Anatolia – Upper Thrace during the EBA III/MBA could be proved. Bearing in mind these speculations, H. Parzinger included Upper Thrace in the “Eastern Balkans and the Lower Danube valley”, and not in the Aegean-Anatolian cultural zone, i.e. Anatolia and the Aegean are separated again, but this time in a cultural aspect. The foreign authors are prone to set the borderline between the two culture zones after the time of the Troy I-Michalich horizon along the Marmara coast and obviously prefer the European one<sup>11</sup>. According to them, the lack of true imports springs out of the disharmony in the different types of society. Logically, there follows the uncertainty in the correlation of radiocarbon and historical chronology (criticism of the doubt in Maran J. 1997:171-192). This dividing line is drawn up in a number of studies, as Southeast Europe with its chronology is attached to Central Europe (Thomas H. 1967; Erich R., H. Bankoff 1992:375-394).

In other words, what we should point out is that the authors in general regard the contacts after the EBA II with the South as limited ones and EBA III culture in Upper Thrace has only few similarities with Anatolia and the Aegean. Moreover, the existence of MBA culture in Upper Thrace is unprovable in general. Thus, “The Chronological fault line” from 1973 is actually modernised, but this time in a cultural meaning, i.e. the term turns into “The Cultural “fault line”. Accordingly, four main reasons could be placed in the very base of this construction:

1. The difficult comparison between the radiocarbon and archaeo-historical dating methods without additional correlation by dendrochronology in general. This operation can hardly be applied for Southeast Europe due to lack of the necessary samples of wood, with the exceptions of the Bulgarian Black Sea littoral (Kuniholn P., B. Kromer, S. Trater and C. Griggs 1998:401-407). The information from submerged Black Sea sites could be applied after serious re-estimation of the specific features of the pottery repertoire that should be correlated with Ezero sequence (Leshtakov K. 1994). Moreover, there is no single coastal site explored which could offer control of the insufficient under water site-stratigraphy.
2. No concordance can be reached between the chronology of Southeast Europe, Anatolia and the Aegean in the EBA III/MBA. Yet this thesis was considered as an axiom. There was a total lack of imports coming from regions with historical chronology and written sources. “chain dating” (“Ketten Datierung”) method was not applied here due to the “white spot” Eastern Thrace as a link of the diagonal line from Anatolia to Central Europe. Furthermore, the Troy – Central Anatolia connections were very debatable (Efe T. 1994: 5, 16). Until recently there were no true imports from the South Aegean into Northern Greece, which also isolated the region as a link in the second chronological line “Egypt - Crete - Greece – South Bulgaria”. The exotic Mesopotamian seal found in Poliochni was the only exception, but the island is in the Renfrew’s arch.

<sup>11</sup> M. Özdoğan (1991:223) limits the penetration of the vessels of the “Salhane” type, which he himself synchronises with Karanovo VI, only to southern Strandzha-mountain. They do not reach the coast of Marmara, where “Kum Tepe IB” ware occur, despite of the fact that the chronological relation between both groups has not been clear enough. According to the author these differences are symptomatic of the time after the EBA 2 (Özdoğan M., Y. Miyake, O. Dede. 1991:65), and they became especially contrasting during the EBA III-MBA (Özdoğan M. 1993).

3. According to some authors, there are definite differences in the economic and social systems on both sides of the “fault line”, increasing in time. They focus on the urbanisation of the Aegean and Anatolia after the beginning of the second millennium BC. This leads to the domination of the “pastoral” model in the Balkans, and the “urban” model in Anatolia and Aegean during the MBA.
4. The methods of pottery investigation in Anatolian-Aegean region and in Upper Thrace were different, so the old information bases were not comparable and any correlation between the pottery repertoires could be easily attacked.

This study aims at defending the existence of real imports in Galabovo, coming from regions with historical chronology, and thus proving the parallelism of EBA III/MBA cultures in Upper Thrace. The direction of the main synchronisation line runs along “Central Anatolia - Western Anatolia - Eastern Thrace - Upper Thrace”. One basic dating method is applicable here - through true imports. Unfortunately it is too early to apply the “chain dating” and Crossdating methods due to the lack of comparable finds in Macedonia and Aegean Thrace. On the other hand, we miss the very important results from new excavations in Eastern Thrace, known just from short preliminary reports, written by M. Özdoğan and H. Parzinger. The suggested parallels with Anatolia – in case they sustain a well-grounded criticism – have an additional value: They could prove the existence of the MBA sites in Thrace – a fact doubted even today by most European prehistorians.

From the methodological point of view, we can hardly expect something more than what is already known from the '40s, when K. Schaefer and Vl. Miložič systematised the archaeo-historical method. It is based precisely on the comparative stratigraphy and the “chain dating”, serving as a “bridge” between the written tradition of the Near East and Egypt and the non “barbarian” cultures of Europe (Maran J. 1997: 171 with ref.). The only novelty here is the information after the '80s and the considerations about the character of the EBA III/MBA, turning Upper Thrace from depopulated region into a real part of the Eastmediterranean cultural sphere<sup>12</sup>.

So far only Galabovo has yielded well-stratified wheel-made pottery<sup>13</sup>. These finds can be interpreted as real imports due to their shape and technology, but the phenomenon was isolated in the Eastern Balkans. Gradually Eastern Thrace and the North Aegean region were also emerged as a zone of trading contacts with stratified imports, which not only indicates the

<sup>12</sup> Recently we can see some attempts for reanimation of the archaeological perspectives of the Indo-European researches. Thus, cultures of Anatolia have strong traces of East-European steppe elements or even Southeast European “roots”. We would not comment on these tendencies, lastly summarised by J. Yakar (1998:13-25 with ref.), because they are almost as extreme as the Chalcolithic idea of “Ex Balkanice Lux” from the end of the 70-ies.

<sup>13</sup> Some new finds, which can be surely dated to the EBA III/the beginning of the MBA and have indisputable Anatolian parallels should be mentioned. They originate from the fortified centre Mihalich (excavations of M. Stefanova with the author's consultations from 1998-99), Tell Altan Tepe (excavations of P. Kalchev and the author) and the cult-place Cherna Gora (excavations of the author 1997-1999). It is not possible to discuss them here, the more so as their publication is forthcoming.

trade roads (Leshtakov 1996:227-278, Figs. 2.2, 3.1), but also prolongs the comparative stratigraphy to Upper Thrace.

### **Main data on the stratigraphy and the complexes in Galabovo (Fig. 3)**

Excavations were carried out in 1988-1991 and 1995 over an area of more than 1000 sq. m. in a step-trench on the southern slope and in the highest part of the tell (Leshtakov 1993:193, Abb. 2; 1998)<sup>14</sup>. The basic two layers are from the BA and the Late Chalcolithic. Earlier sherds were also found. Middle Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic settlements, either under the Late Chalcolithic layer, or in the vicinity, could be assumed.

According to 1988-1991 data, the BA levels are 13 or 14 (Fig. 3, 3-5). The uppermost level was added to the sequence after widening the excavated area and clearing the highest part of the site in 1995, so today they are at least 15. The general stratigraphy has already been published (Leshtakov K. 1993:194-204); therefore the new evidence and the main information of the complexes and pottery from the levels 1a-4 will be only briefly present here.

Level "1a" (or "zero" level) was identified in the highest area of the tell, which was only cleaned up from the cinders from the thermo-electricity plant in 1995. The burnt debris of the settlement suggested the existence of several dwellings, however, complete plans or closed complexes have not been preserved. The settlement obviously collapsed after a severe fire. After that the site was not inhabited for at least several years. The wall-pieces were scattered over a large area and their surface was strongly eroded.

A dwelling floor, hearths, a pithos and a pit in the northern and the central part of the site were found at the first level. The settlement was partly represented by a compacted clay layer; it served the purpose of levelling the surface under the houses and passages over a larger area. This was a yellow-greenish beaten clay of different thicknesses. A rich humus black layer, saturated in the lower part with burnt sherds of wall daub, was situated between level 2 and the clay level. It presumably indicates a short interruption occurred or an area free of building activity.

Dwelling I-1 in the central part of the site (Sq. N<sub>7</sub> - M<sub>7</sub>) was partly investigated in 1995. The plan is rectangular, with north-south orientation. There were probably two rooms, along a longitudinal axis and separated by a light partition wall. The wattle-and-daub construction of the walls burnt in a severe fire. The clay vessels in the house were grouped around the pithos and the eastern wall. Two intact vessels were deposited under the floor of the southern room – a bowl and a cup, which probably could be interpreted as building offering (?). A fragmented "Depas amphikypellon" was found by the wall outside the house (OF-177). Fourteen clay vessels were found in the investigated area: Nos. OF 127-186, 198, 206, bowls; 143 - a bowl with two handles; 140, 173 - jugs, 170 - a pot; 204 - a ladle; 205 - a pot-stand; 211 - amphora; fragmented amphorae, pot, and "tee-pot".

The information from the ritual pit in sq. O<sub>6</sub>, where a bronze dagger and a wheel-made

<sup>14</sup> The members of the archaeological team were Dr. I. Panayotov, Dr. St. Alexandrov, Dr. Tz. Popova, Mrs. I. Zmeikova, Miss N. Todorova and S. Savatinov and the author.



“pilgrim flask” – a true import, was deposited, is very important (Leshtakov K. 1993:199, Abb. 5). Besides the 15 vessels with definite stratigraphy: 1 OF, a cup; 43 OF, a pot; 129 OF, a bowl; 14-15 NSF, jugs etc., some others could also be added to levels 1a and 1.

Level 2 was represented by the two dwelling-floors in sqs. L<sub>4-5</sub>/M<sub>4-5</sub> (Fig. 4,1), M<sub>7</sub>, J<sub>8</sub> and J<sub>5-6</sub>/K<sub>5-6</sub>/L<sub>5-6</sub>, which have different niveaux due to the strong erosion in the western part of the tell. Other dwellings were also documented, but not entirely investigated. In dwelling L<sub>4-5</sub>/M<sub>4-5</sub> eight intact vessels were found, part of them already published (Leshtakov K. 1993:208-212): Nos. OF 35, 37, 103, 105-106, bowls; 40, amphorae; 50, a cup; 112-NSF, a cup. A wheel-made amphorae neck was found nearby (Leshtakov K. 1993:209, Abb. 12.4).

The dwelling in areas O<sub>7</sub>/O<sub>8</sub>/P<sub>8</sub>/N<sub>8</sub> is covered by debris of the first level dwelling and has a definite stratigraphical position. Its plan presumably was rectangular and oriented North-South. What is special about this building is that the walls were built in pisé technique. Their internal surface was coated by white mortar daub, as well as the floor. A big stone tool was revealed in the foundation of the wall and under the floor, presumably sacrificed before the erection of the house. The vessels found close to the wall were highly fragmented.

A part of the third dwelling, also in well-preserved stratigraphical position, was cleared in the central area of the site. The sequence in the plan-scheme of the settlement is underlined by the almost full coincidence of the positions of the hearths and the oven. The plan of the house is rectangular and oriented North-South with a small deviation. There were presumably two rooms, divided by a light partition wall; the floor is covered with white gypsum daub. The finds in the dwelling are *in situ*. The vessels were found in two spots – near the oven and upon the hearth. A fragmented bowl and a cup were found east of the oven (163-OF). Two other bowls were beside them. The depositories were placed in the eastern part of the room. Other vessels stood on a shelf near the hearth, which is indicated by the three consecutive levels of carbonised wood between them. There are three pits in the floor; the one by the hearth is more important. The pit was filled by grey-blackish soil, mixed with burnt organic pieces and heavily burnt domestic animal bones<sup>15</sup>. A multi-spiral golden hear-ring was found in the pit at a depth of 0.05 m under the floor. It is of great value because of its excellent parallels in the Northwest (Bertemés Fr. 1990:117, Fig. 9.1-10). Six vessels were found in the dwelling: Nos. OF 168 – a cup; 187 – a bowl; 207, 209-210 – depositories; 208 – a pot.

Floors of dwelling and heating facilities in sqs. J<sub>3-6</sub>, K<sub>3-5</sub> and L<sub>3-5</sub> indicated the niveau of the third level. Dwelling J<sub>4</sub>/J<sub>5</sub>/K<sub>4</sub>/K<sub>5</sub>/L<sub>4</sub>/L<sub>5</sub> (investigated area 70 sq. m) is covered by dwelling debris of level 2 (Leshtakov K. 1993:202, Abb. 7), and the floor base itself covers the debris of wattle-and-daub dwelling from the level 4. A large stone axe was found in the foundations of the west wall – presumably a building offering. The vessels are grouped in two places of 11 and 5 vessels near the oven and the horseshoe-shaped portable hearth, placed on

<sup>15</sup> I was given this information by Prof. A. Henning (Frankfurt am Main), and the identification of the bones was carried out by Dr. N. Benke, to whom I am grateful for the analyses. Bones of two species were found in the pit – a sheep/goat, premolar of a domestic pig, two vertebrae of cattle, caudal vertebra of another cattle and femur – proximal part, also of cattle. In fact, bone samples of all domestic animals, used by the inhabitants occur in the pit. This selection is hardly accidental. The fact that the pit was near the hearth and the golden ring was placed in it suggests that it could have been related to ritual activities.

the floor. Other isolated vessels were also found near the ware in the storage-area (Fig 4,2). Altogether 27 intact vessels were in the dwelling: 88 OF, a wheel-made "Syrian bottle" – a true import; Nos. OF 65-66, 89, 92, 94, 97, 114, 107 – jugs; 90-91, 95-96, 109, 115, 116 – cups; 81, 104, 112 – bowls; 81A, 93, 108, 113 – pots; 85 – depository; 138 – amphorae; 64 – "tee-pot"

Several dwellings were partly cleaned at the fourth level, destroyed by a strong fire. The house in sq. F<sub>3</sub>/G<sub>3</sub>/F<sub>4</sub> (investigated area 38.60 sq. m) is rectangular, divided into two rooms and with a north-east/southwest orientation. Digging works for a modern ditch have destroyed the eastern part of the dwelling. The construction was wattle-and-daub, and a central column supports the roof. There were a rectangular oven in the dwelling, a hearth and a loom. The loom-weights were found very close to the dividing wall and the vessels in the close proximity of the oven and in the southern room. They are nine in number: Nos. OF 72, 135, 139, 150, 212 – jugs; 124 – a bowl; 126 – an amphora; 141 – a dish; 144 – a shovel and a fragmented amphora.

### Basic technological groups and forms in Galabovo 1a-4<sup>16</sup>

The ware is hand- and wheel made (Fig. 6, 5; 7, 3-4; 11, 1; 13, 1; 14, 1-2) The intact vessels from closed complexes have generally been used in the classification of the pottery. Some ware found outside the dwellings have also been analysed, but their information is not so precise. The pottery sherds are partly used in the analysis – only those found in the dwellings. The classification consists of 14 functional classes: shallow-bowls, deep-bowls, jugs, cups, pots, amphorae, storage-pots (so-called pitoi) etc., classified in shapes and types. For example, the shallow bowls are in seven shapes and in 15 types. Closed shapes are generally prevailing. Jug-shapes are six in over 10 types; the cups are presented by 16 types; the amphorae by 5 types, etc. Some new classes for BA Upper Thrace are recorded – pot-stands, flasks, etc. There are also a lot of new shapes, especially in the class of the jugs, cups, deep bowls, amphorae, and to a lesser degree – shallow bowls. All this allows us to separate the pottery repertoire of Galabovo 1a-4 from the information we already have for the EBA 3 in Upper Thrace from a formative point of view.

The patterns and the decoration techniques during the EBA III/MBA have never been a subject of a detailed analysis. The literature presents only the classification and methodical base (Leshtakov K. 1988), as well as case studies of Ezero and the tell near Dyadovo village (Georgiev G. Il, N.J. Merpert, R.V. Katinčarov et al. 1979:316-360, comments by Parzinger H. 1993:115-119; Katinčarov R., J. Best, V. Nikolov et al. 1980:49-59). The following decoration techniques have been used in Galabovo 1a-4: plastic decoration (bands, knobs, etc); incised decoration (with incrustation or not), stamped decoration, strokes, and "Furchenstich". The knobs are rounded or double-conical, carefully shaped and dominate in the plastic decoration. They were placed on bowls, pots, amphorae and depositories, sometimes on the

<sup>16</sup> On the general principle of pottery classification cf. Leshtakov K. (1988 with ref.). The former scheme is supplemented with new shapes and types, unknown at the time – flasks, amphorae etc.

bodies of the jugs and the cups. Plastic bands occur more rarely, in contrast to the EBA patterns. The incised decoration is surpassingly well presented on jugs, cups, shallow bowls and amphorae. The decoration on an intact jug is the only example of “Furchenstich” technique. The plastic bands with finger impressions or strokes were used for the decoration of bigger and rougher vessels – urn-like pots and pithoi. It is worth to note the absence of “Schnurtechnik”-pattern in Galabovo 1a-4. The specific character of the decoration is identified not only by this negative observation, but also by the comparatively high percentage of incised decoration. Moreover, the knobs between the two handles of the deep bowls and amphorae and their absence as handle-projections of the jugs and cups distinguish Galabovo pottery from the typical “Sv. Kirilovo” pottery repertoire.

### **Pottery from I-IV level of Galabovo and their parallels in the contemporary Anatolian sites**

“The flaring bowls” (Fig. 5, 3) are known from the H. Schliemann’s excavations in Troy, but in general they were dated to Troy II-V then (Dörpfeld W. 1902:267, Fig. 146, the second sherd from the left to the right). The American excavators specified their dating and the bowls were regarded as symptomatic for Troy V – early Troy VI finds (Blegen C. et al. 1951, Fig. 43). This shape usually has one horizontal handle above the mouth rim, with plastic decoration on the base. These handles are above the rim in early Troy VI, and as a general impression come close to the Thracian “Assenovets type” from the LBA. Flutes on the flaring rim, however, occur also in bowls with different rim-type (Blegen C. et al. 1951, Fig. 251.19; Fig. 253.13-14 – stage Va; Parzinger H. 1993, Taf. 149, 93a-b). The “flaring bowls” were very popular during the EBA III/MBA in almost entire Anatolia. Similar wheel-made one handled bowls were also found in EBA III layers of Tarsus (Goldman H. 1956, Pl. 267.436).

The carinated bowls (Fig. 5, 4) were also popular in the EBA III/MBA in Anatolia. Two complete samples with soft profiles and one handle were published from Troy II-V (Dörpfeld W. 1902:265, Fig. 140-141). Almost identical vessels were found in Karaağaçtepe-Protesilaos II (Demangel R. 1926:41, Fig. 52.3). Karaağaçtepe I-II has been synchronised on the basis of small numbers of parallels with Troy Ia-c, and Protesilaos III-IV – with Troy IId-f, with the proviso that a more exact date could hardly be given (Parzinger H. 1993:204-205). From a Thracian point of view the suggested date is unsatisfactory. The site yielded vessels, which could be definitely set in the second half of the Thracian EBA 3 even to its very end<sup>17</sup>.

The bowl-types with an outwardly profiled orifice known from Galabovo (Fig. 5, 2) were also manufactured in Anatolia – either hand- or wheel-made, decorated with plastic bands. The EBA III vessels in Tarsus are hand-made, and the plastic bands are four, in-groups of two; the profiles are very similar to those in Galabovo (Goldman H. 1956:137, Pl. 264. 405-

<sup>17</sup> The vessels are from Karaağaçtepe II and III-IV (cf. Demangel R. 1926:39, Fig. 46) – a cup with a round bottom and oblique mouth; (Ibid. 54, Fig. 68) – a jug with a round bottom and a knob on it, from below; (Ibid. Fig. 70.40; 57, Fig. 72) – a jug with oblique mouth and a spout on the body, with parallels in late EBA 3 at Vesselinovo II, Costantia and the tell near the village of Dyadovo.



406, 38.1810).

The bowls with a flute below the rim (Fig. 5, 5) were recorded at the American excavations in Troy V. The flutes are wide, shaped by the potter's finger. The specific character of the technology, however, occurs in different shapes – A 18, A 19 and A 21 (Blegen C et al. 1951:250, Fig. 252, 2; 254, 18-21, 256, 12-19), including carinated bowls (Parzinger H. 1993, Taf. 149, 92). Therefore, this parallel indicates common traits of the manufacture, rather than exact formative parallel.

The bowls with Z-profile (Fig. 5, 1), fully comparable to those from Galabovo, are also known from Troy V. Sometimes they display two horizontal handles above the mouth (Parzinger H. 1993, Taf. 149, 91).

The “trefoil-mouthed jugs” (Fig. 6, 1-1a, cf. sherds from similar vessels in Fig. 6, 2, 2-4) have not been published so far from other sites in Upper Thrace, but are very popular in the South. In the typology of the pottery from *kārum Kanish* they are divided into three groups<sup>18</sup>. Parallels to the Galabovo jug can be found in the second group. The neck is short and wide; the body is rounded and there is plastic decoration. Considering the number of these jugs – 20 intact specimens, they should have been very popular (Özgüç T., N. Özgüç 1953:157-158). These jugs were spread over a large area of the Eastern Mediterranean, however, except for their common feature – the peculiar mouth, the shape differences are considerable. According to K. Bittel, the jugs in Boğazköy resemble some Syrian and Palestinian samples (Ras-Shamra and Megiddo). On the other hand, the earlier “trefoil-mouthed jugs” in the necropolis Yortan are compared, also by him, to these from the Cyclades. Thus, at least two different regions of manufacture are assumed for Anatolia. The one from inner Anatolia seems to have been connected with Syria and Palestine, but the very vessels are local production, so there is no question of imports. The specific vessels often occur also in Alishar. In general, according to the authors, this is a very popular pottery type (Kull Br. 1989:61, 63 with ref., Anm. 67, Abb. 10). In Northwest Anatolia the “trefoil-mouthed jugs” appear in Troy IV (shape B 35), setting the beginning of a long series, continuing also in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC (Mellaart J. 1974, 684). The jugs from early Troy VI have a profile and size different from Galabovo jug. According to the body proportions our vessel is close to shape B 28, but the jugs of that group are with plain mouths (Blegen C. et al. 1951:293). Hence, there is no precise parallel from the American excavations of Troy. Schliemann found two “trefoil-mouthed jugs”, one of which is quite comparable to those from Galabovo<sup>19</sup>. Unfortunately, it cannot be a chronological indicator, as the whole group of Troy VI-VII vessels is assigned to the “Mycenaean Age” (Schmidt H. 1902:146-148, No. 3002, No. 3007; Dörpfeld W. 1902, Abb. 187). This type of mouth appears in Beycesultan for the first time in level V (MBA), but also occurs in level IV (1750-1450 BC). The body-profiles are different, but the mouths and the position of the handle do not change and as a whole are very close to those from Galabovo

<sup>18</sup> The first group of jugs has a rounded body and narrow neck. The bottom can be round. The section of the handle is oval or circular. The third type has a very widened from the upside trefoil mouth without any parallels in Galabovo. On the excavations and the pottery cf. Özgüç T. 1950; 1953.

<sup>19</sup> The second jug has a rounded bottom and it is larger in size – 42 cm high.

(Lloyd S., J. Mellaart. 1956:126-127, 131; Fig. 3.15, 4.6-7). In the Pontic Anatolian region the “trefoil-mouthed jugs” does not seem to be very popular. In İkiztepe intact specimens have not been found, only sherds, most similar to those from Hattusha. They are dated to the so-called Transitional period and are wheel-made (Alkim U. et al. 1988:168, Pl. V, 6).

The “trefoil-mouthed jugs” from Galabovo have parallels also in Crete, but they concern only the “beak”. The comparable vessels from Knossos were found in MM I dwelling. They have a specific narrowing of the lower part of the body and soft biconical shape, but unlike our vessel the upper part of the body is bulging. The jugs have not been profoundly commented, as Sir A. Evans considers only the vessels, which in value come close to the works of art (Evans A. 1921:172-173, Fig. 122, Nos. 2, 4-5, 19). The same shape survives until the MM III (Evans A. 1921:661, Fig. 449b), judging by the parallel from Zakro, MM IIIb (Evans A. 1928:220, Fig. 125).

The S-profiled open cups with one handle, very close to those from Galabovo (Fig. 6, 6), are known from Kültepe. Their decoration, however, is painted (Orthmann W. 1963, Taf. 1, 1/04-06, 1/11-12). Cup-sherds in the same style were also published from Alishar. They have plastic knobs on the wall (Orthmann W. 1963, Taf. 13, 2/87-88, 2/95-97 incl. lit.) like the Galabovo cup. The vessels from Boğazköy (MBA) are also quite comparable – the profile and the place of the handle are almost identical (Orthmann W. 1963, Taf. 56, 14/11, Taf. 59, 14/28, Taf. 59, 14/29). Precise parallels of the wide cups from Galabovo could be found also in Troy II-V (H. Schliemann’s excavations). According to their features (Dörpfeld W. 1902:265, Fig. 139) they can be referred to the end of the period, i.e. to the beginning of the MBA. More general are the similarities in EBA III of Tarsus (Goldman H. 1956, Fig. 358.451, 459).

The bell-shaped shallow cups with two handles (Fig. 7, 1) in Anatolia (E 4.2 after J.-L. Huot) are also very close to this from Galabovo. According to the authors this shape does not have exact parallels in Troy, but it is well presented in Polath IV, Herayon-Samos and Beycesultan XIIIa. In general, the cups are a very good chronological indicator as they are dated later than Beycesultan XIII and after the beginning of the EBA III in Tarsus (Huot J.-L. 1982:548-549 and map 63). The analogue of the cups from Tarsus with those from Upper Thrace is very impressive (Goldman H. 1956, Fig. 356.491, 495).

The Anatolian “tankards” have not been found yet in Thrace (Fig. 7, 2). They have swollen bodies and one or two vertical handles<sup>20</sup>. They are considered to be drinking vessels, not for serving. According to the number of handles they are divided into two sub-groups (Hout J.-L. 1982:549-552). Those with one handle (Troy A 39) are extremely popular in West Anatolia. The cups from the second sub-group (A 43) are close to “Depata”, but have different body profile. They appear in Troy IId-g and are genetically connected with the shape A 39 (Troy IIa). The development can be traced up in Troy IVc, i.e. to the end of the EBA III. In the large treasure of Troy IIg there is a silver cup identical with the clay tankards. It justifies the assumption that the most popular clay shapes were imitated as metal items, in order to

<sup>20</sup> The term “tankards” gains popularity after the American excavations of Troy and in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Their dimensions are comparatively small – from 7 to 15 cm, rarely reaching 20 cm height.

make special variants “de luxe”. One of the manufacture centres is localised in Troy because of the numerous pieces found there, especially in Troy IIg, and the second one in the Central Anatolia. The cups from Troy have parallels in Karatash and in Tarsus EBA III, which turns them into a chronological indicator. Except for Tarsus, the shape is also presented in Bozüyük (in Northwest Anatolia), Karatash (Lycia) and Tarsus in Cilicia (Huot J.-L. 1982:549-552 with ref.).

The Depata (Fig. 7, 3), or shape A 45 after C. Blegen, have a mythical name and identification<sup>21</sup>, but nobody undertakes to change the popular name (Huot J.-L. 1982:540). The literature on these vessels is large (cf. review by Spanos R. 1972; Podzuweit Chr. 1979; Huot J.-L. 1982:540-548; Hürýılmaz H. 1995:177- 185 with ref.) *Depata amphikypella* from Southeast Bulgaria have also been the subject of many commentaries (summary by Leshtakov 1996:243-246 with ref.) and were considered as true Anatolian imports (Mellaart J. 1971:129-131). “Depata” appeared in the EBA III and were manufactured until Troy V, i.e. during the EBA III/MBA. In this case of great importance is the upper chronological limit, as the Galabovo vessel seems to be earlier than the rest of the pottery from the first building level, which has good parallels in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC (Leshtakov 1996).

“Depata” are considered to be a new element in the pottery after Troy IIb (EBA III), along with the “tankards”, “flaring bowls” and the big ornamented pithoi (Blegen C. et al. 1951:206). The group of “red-coated ware” is also a novelty (Blegen C. et al. 1951:221). Very important for the dating of these vessels in Troy is the imported Aegean ware, as well as its imitations (Blegen C. et al. 1951:6). Red slipped “depata” occur rarely in Troy IV in the context of “grey” and “black burnish ware”. However, the intact vessels from Schliemann’s excavations are more (Blegen C. et al. 1951:127)<sup>22</sup>. One of the latest fragments originates from Troy IVe (Blegen C. et al. 1951:204, Fig. 186, and No. 11); i.e. comes within EBA III/MBA period. After 2300 BC “Depata” became very popular in West Anatolia and in the adjacent islands, for example in Samos (Herayon) or Siros (Kastri), demonstrating a variety of local variants. The type with a wide body is popular in Central Anatolia – Kültepe and in Alishar, and a similar piece was found in Eastern Thrace<sup>23</sup>. “Depata” were also found along the trade road from Northwest to Central Anatolia. The same type in Greece, in the time of Troy IV, have flat wide bottom and ring-shaped stem. Such were found in the EBA III at Tirynth and Lerna. Gradually “Depata” were replaced by the cups with high “metallic” band-handles, which appeared together with the “grey Minyan wheel-made pottery” (Mellaart J. 1974:683-684).

Two sherds of “Trojan cups” in the context of the “grey Inegöl ware” were found in Ilipinar III, on the Anatolian Marmara coast. They are dated to the very end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. According to the authors, the wide chronological range of the “Depata” (Troy

<sup>21</sup> According to H. Schliemann, this ware was used only for drinking wine.

<sup>22</sup> List of the vessels and comment on the shape in Blegen C. et al. 1950:209-230.

<sup>23</sup> Unpublished results from the investigations of H. Parzinger and M. Özdoğan, owing to which I acquired information about the vessel. On the excavations and their significance for the comparative stratigraphy cf. the reports by Özdoğan M., H. Parzinger 1994; 1995; 1997; Parzinger H., M. Özdoğan 1996:5-29; Özdoğan M., H. Parzinger, N. Karul. 1998, 123-149.



II-V) does not contradict the existence of the grey ware (Roodenberg J., L. Thissen, H. Buultenbuis 1990:107, 139, Fig. 18.8)<sup>24</sup>. In Polatlı 7-9 the wheel-made “Depata” were assigned to the time of Troy II-V, c. 2100 BC (Lloyd S., N. Gökçe 1951: 33, fig. 5, 42-43, fig. 10, 24).

The shape and manufacture of “Depata” at the end of the EBA III in Tarsus have local features (Goldman H. 1956, Fig. 356. 484, 495; Fig. 357. 497, 508, 512). At the beginning of the EBA IIIB the potters had begun to change the traditional for Troy shape (Mellink M. 1993:504), which explains the later differences there. On the other hand, two of the cups in Alaca were found in the context of red Hittite ware and are justifiably compared to the ones from Troy. According to the head of the excavations R. Arık, cups of the Westanatolian type were found in Karaoğlan, and what is more important – also at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC. Therefore, it could be assumed that the tradition of “Depata” in the Central Anatolia continued later in comparison with Troy, i.e. in Old Hittite time. “Depata” were manufactured also in the “Intermediate ceramic” style (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, cf. Öktü A. 1973:29, Taf. 16-17<sup>25</sup>, Taf. 37, cat. No. II-C/01-03). This style is described by H. von der Osten at the excavations of Alishar and is distinguished for its painted decoration. The two handled cups in *kārum* Kanish, some of them strongly influenced by “Depata”, represent the latest manifestation of this tradition. They are divided into three groups: cups with sharp-pointed bottom and handles in the upper part of the body (Özgüç T., N. Özgüç 1953, Abb. 203-208)<sup>26</sup>; shallow cups (Özgüç T., N. Özgüç 1953, Abb. 195) and cups in the tradition of “Depata” (Özgüç T., N. Özgüç 1953, Abb. 194-195). The last group, however, has only an additional significance for the dating of the pottery from Galabovo.

On the edge of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC the flasks with an oval body also appeared (cf. below). A combination of “depas” – “pilgrim flask” is so far registered only in the acropolis of Aphrodisias, Southwest Anatolia. Complexes B and C (MBA) are synchronised with Beycesultan IVb-c, and the pottery unearthed from the layer under them (EBA 3) is related not only to Beycesultan, but also to Troy. In this context “depas” and a “pilgrim flask” with “Özenhenkel” were found (Kull Br. 1988:166 with ref.), and the last one, however, is a distant parallel to the flask from Galabovo<sup>27</sup>.

The amphorae in Galabovo are in several types (Fig. 8). The vessel from dwelling M<sub>4-5</sub> (level 2) is wheel-made and coated with black “metal” slip (Fig. 7, 5). Precise parallels could be found in the pottery of MH I-II and in sherds from Karaevli-altı in Turkish Thrace (Leshtakov K. 1993:210-212, Abb. 11.5; 1996 with ref.). The other amphorae have parallels in Anatolia. In the EBA III in Tarsus the shape have narrower and higher neck, but the mouth and handles are the same (Goldman H. 1956, pl. 290. 597, 605). Amphorae with two vertical handles and

<sup>24</sup> The illustrated sherd belongs to a small cup-base with quite narrow body, similar to that from Galabovo and very different to the cup Kanlıgeçit.

<sup>25</sup> The vessels from Kültepe and Alishar are I-C/01 and I-C/02 after Öktü’s catalogue.

<sup>26</sup> One “depas” with two handles, pointed bottom and wide conical body originates from Kültepe (Özgüç T., N. Özgüç 1953:257, Lev. XLI, 399, Lev. XXX, 194). The handles and a part of the mouth are broken. The cup from Abb. 194 (Ibid. 170, No. 385) was found in *kārum* Kanish, in annals no. 2 together with clay cuneiform tables and it is very well dated. This cup, however, typologically is too far from the Galabovo vessel as a type.

<sup>27</sup> The vessel is published by Ekim, K. T. *TürkAD* 19-1, 1970:85, Abb. 55.

shorter, broadening at the top neck were also found at the site (Goldman h. 1956, Pl. 267.589). The amphorae in Kültepe have two horizontal and two vertical handles or only two vertical handles, and they are always decorated in the area between the two handles (Özgülç T., N. Özgülç 1953, lev. XXXII. 220, 222; Lev. XXXIII. 229, 232).

The spouted vessels or the “tee-pots” (Fig. 9) in Anatolia occurred as early as in the EBA II, according to Tarsus evidence (Goldman H. 1956, Pl. 347 (BD)). The mentioned sherds belong to an open bowls with large diameter of the orifice. Typologically the spout differs from the later shapes in the site, as well as from the vessels from Galabovo. The teapot from Galabovo 1 finds a precise parallel in Tarsus EBA III (Goldman H. 1956, Pl. 273. 571)<sup>28</sup> and later. Very similar vessels were manufactured in the Assirian trade emporia – for example, in kārūm Kanish IV-III (Emre K. 1989:123, Fig. A1, 3 – level IV; A1, 9-11 – level III; Pl. 23, 5-8; Pl. 24). The tee-pots continue to be symptomatic shape in the next MBA period of kārūm Kanish I-II. According to T. Özgülç the tee-pots from levels IV and III have more round-bellied bodies in comparison with those from level II (Emre K. 1989:111-115 incl. lit.)<sup>29</sup>. They were used in the everyday life, as well as grave goods. A sherd in “Intermediate ware” style, interim to vessels from level II was unearthed in level III (Emre K. 1989:111-119). A teapot from Alaca is in the same style (Öktü A. 1973:29, Taf. 39, and No. III/01). Two different types of teapots, reconstructed by fragments, were recorded also in Ikiztepe in the Anatolian Pontic region. As a whole they follow the style of the Hittite vessels from Central Anatolia (Alkım U. et al. 1988:167, Pl. IV, 3-17; type I – Pl. IV, 3-6, type II – Pl. IV, 7-8).

In general it is considered that the vessels with spouts were used for the storage and pouring of different liquids. A deep spouted bowl from EBA III level at Dyadovo has internal surface covered by a thick deposit of fur and presumably was used for boiling water<sup>30</sup>. Other spouted vessels, having size of cups, were presumably used for drinking or for special liquids. In the Upper Thracian EBA III, however, there were spouted vessels, which by shape and capacity were closer to the pots. Obviously their function has been different from those, mentioned above. An idea for their purpose can be taken from the similar Anatolian ware. M. Mellink called a large vessel with four spouts from Karataş “a crater” (EBA II or Early Dynastic II/III period in Mesopotamia). Similar craters are known from roll-seals in Ur and other sites in Mesopotamia. According to the author the four spouts were designed for collective beer drinking, as suggested by the mentioned images – priests, holding big straws dipped into a similar vessel. This manner of drinking was imposed because of the fact that the beer was not filtrated (Mellink, M. 1971:69-73, Pl. 1-3). It is possible that some of the specimens here with the shape of pots and jugs may have been used similarly. Of course, in our case the spout is only one on a vessel, which suggest certain alienation of the participants

<sup>28</sup> The body of the vessel from Tarsus is flatter. There is no definite information of a handle, though such appears on the picture. Wheel-made.

<sup>29</sup> There are two tee-pot's types. Those of the first type are divided into two groups. Group 6.1 includes the vessels of beige-washed surface and flat base. Group 6.2 includes the vessels with dark red slip, burnished at the upper part. Most of them have a ring-base. The vessels of the second type are with basket-handles. (Emre K. 1989:123, Fig. A1, 12-13; Pl. 25, 1-3).

<sup>30</sup> Unpublished data from the excavations of R. Katinčarov with the participation of the author.

in the ritual. Recently, a EIA drinking vessel for some special liquid – presumably also beer – was found during the excavations of Eastern Thrace (Özdoğan, M. 1987: 29 and Fig. 4, 30 and Fig. 5a-b). It, however, is quite later, which on the other hand is a certain argument on behalf of the idea for the continuity of this peculiar and important ritual.

The pots with an elongated body (Fig. 10) could well be compared with those from Tarsus EBA III levels (Goldman H. 1956:158, Pl. 280. 663). They are defined as kitchen vessels and are in general hand-made. The pots with wide bulky body and two vertical handles also have parallels in Tarsus (Goldman H. 1956, Pl. 276.660-661 hand-made). We could prolong the parallels to Acemhöyük where a pot with elongated body and two handles was unearthed in a child's grave No. 1 under the floor of dwelling BB/51. It is dated to the beginning of the EBA III (Özgüç N. 1993:517-519, Fig. 2), which could give the *terminus ante quem* of the manufacture of this pot-type. However, the upper limit of their production is not clear, but it is definitely after the beginning of the "Transitional period".

The most precise parallel of the flask (so-called Syrian flask) from Galabovo 3 (Fig. 11, 1), an undoubted import (Leshtakov K. 1996: 260, Fig. 10. 1, Cat. No. 25), is unfortunately not stratified and originates from the Karkemish vicinity (Orthmann W. 1963:176, Taf. 96, 4)<sup>31</sup>. The Syrian flasks are one of the most important finds for the comparative chronology of Anatolia. They were wheel-made and have dark to light-grey fine paste. A special technological feature is the typical double thickening of the mouth and the alabastron-like shape. They were unearthed in Kültepe 11-12, EBA IIIC of Tarsus etc. (Öktü A. 1973:105), which is explained with a large intensification of their trade contacts with the Southwest. The flasks were presumably used as perfume containers and were interpreted as a clear evidence for the active trade exchange. All the vessels imported from Syria were wheel-made (Goldman H. 1956:154, Fig. 26.8; Mellink M. 1992:215), but the Anatolian imitations were also hand-made. In general, the shape has a parallel the golden flask from Troy II (Dörpfeld W. 1902, Fig. 257), which could be considered as a "delux" variant.

The numerous examples from Tarsus include "alabastron" type (Goldmann H. 1956, Fig. 361. 614, 616), as well as flasks with ovoidal body. The bottoms were rounded and slightly pointed. The closeness of the Galabovo piece to the last type is very impressive and they are almost identical (cf. Goldmann H. 1956:180, Fig. 294. 913, 915-917). A flask also very close to the Galabovo example originates from Alishar 13 T, grave dX46. According to M. Mellink it has parallels in the Early Dynastic period of Ur and Fara. All these allow us to define the Thracian find as a real import, most probably from Central, and possibly from Southwest Anatolia.

The "Pilgrim flask" or "Linsenflaschen" from Galabovo 1 (Fig. 13, 1) is also a true import and has so precise parallels in North Central Anatolia so it can definitely be considered as manufactured there (Leštakov K. 1993:200-201). The shape is so specific that with its

<sup>31</sup> The flask was manufactured in the same manner, the surface is covered with polished yellow-brown slip. Kept in London, British Museum, No. 1922.5/11.500. The name of the site is known also as Karkemiš (after Orthmann W. 1963) as well as Carchemish (cf. for instance Mellink M. 1956:53).



types<sup>32</sup> it represents an excellent chronological indicator. The flask corresponds exactly to type A by F. Fischer (Boğazköy), whose manufacture could be set in the first part of MBA according to *kārum Kanish* chronology. It is worth to note that the discussion about the origins of the type is very important, but this is not the place proper for it. However, we cannot adopt the assumption that the type is genetically connected with Cycladic repertoire beyond any doubt (Fischer F. 1963:50, Anm. 198; a summary of the flasks in Kull Br. 1989:49-53). The slightly later types appear in Boğazköy also in MBA (Fischer F. 1963:50, 53). During the LBA the types have two or three handles and plastic edge at the connection of the two lenses (Özgüç T. 1978, Pl. 49, 1-3, from Mashathüyük, Hittite level I; 1982, Pl. 7a-b). They were found in a larger region in comparison with that of the MBA – from Troy to Palestine, Cyprus and in Egypt (Blegen C. et al. 1953:337, Pl. 342), including in Tarsus (Goldmann H. 1956, Pl. 377. 1024).

The dimensions of the MBA flasks vary in a wide range. The small ones, to which Galabovo vessel pertains, presumably were personal, as they contain ca. 1-l liquid. They were wheel-made of two lens-shaped parts, the neck and the handle were added afterward (Müller-Karpe A. 1988:27-30). The Galabovo vessel was also made in this manner.

The Galabovo flask has the most close analogues in Alishar, Korucutepe (intact vessels), Polatlı<sup>33</sup>, Hattusha (sherds of the same type) and *kārum Kanish Ib* (Özgüç T. 1959, T 31.4). The last find is accurately dated through written records. The vessel from Alishar III (d 2414) is earlier and was found as a grave good in d X33 (Osten von der H. 1937:188, Fig. 194). Later it was dated before *kārum Kanish II* (Fischer F. 1963:95, Anm. 141). The flask from Korucutepe, as that from Galabovo, is not a local production. It, however, is dated to 1800-1600 BC (Loon van M. 1983:71, Pl. 8, 9A). The vessels from Boğazköy are from layer IVc of Büyükkale and from layer IV of “Unterstadt” (Fischer F. 1963, Abb. 18-19, Taf. 46. 468, 487, 50.468). The flask from “Unterstadt” originates from the Old-Assirian trading factory *kārum Hattush*, synchronised with *kārum Kanish Ib*, while the other one is dated slightly after that, in the time of Hattusili I (Fischer F. 1963:98-101, Abb. 22). Thus, the dating of the Galabovo flask to the Early Hittite period is confirmed by two independent sources with historical chronology – *kārum Hattush* and *kārum Kanish*.

The typology of the funnels (Fig. 13, 3) in Anatolia includes two groups, differentiated in 1949 during the excavation of Kültepe<sup>34</sup>. Similar artefacts are known from Alaca and from Gözlü Kule – an Old Hittite layer (Özgüç T., N. Özgüç 1953:173, and 177-178, Abb. 137, Lev. XXIX). Only one fragment from wheel-made funnel has been published from the excavations

<sup>32</sup> The typology of the “Pilgrim flasks” is after F. Fischer and O. Bilgy (cf. Müller-Karpe A. 1988:30, Anm. 85).

<sup>33</sup> The Polatlı sherd belongs to the group of the Hittite pottery from level 28 and it is dated after the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC (Lloyd S., N. Gökçe 1951:50-51, Fig. 12, 21; about the corrections in the stratigraphy of the Polatlı and comment on the pottery cf. Orthmann W. 1963:28, Anms. 75-76, 98). The flasks from Southwest Anatolia are very different from the Galabovo vessel (cf. Kull Br. 1988:166, Anm. 681; Parzinger H. 1993:221-223 incl. lit., Beil. 5).

<sup>34</sup> The first group is represented by only one piece with small dimensions – 4.9 cm high (Kültepe II, sondage B, No. 473). The second group comprises funnels of larger size and without handles (Kültepe Ib, sondage B).

of Ikiztepe, dated to the “Transitional period” (Alkım U. et al. 1988:169, Pl. V, 8, Typ I)<sup>35</sup>. The parallels with the Thracian specimens are obvious, although they could be used only as an argument for a general similarities in the function, and not for synchronisation.

The artefact from Galabovo 4 (Fig. 13, 4-4a), known as shovel or crucible<sup>36</sup> in Anatolia, have the closest parallels in Ikiztepe. These from the EBA II-III levels were most probably used for scooping grain or liquids, after the authors’ opinion. An intact piece of the same type was also found in the “transitional period” layer (until the 19<sup>th</sup> millennium BC). This specimen has the shape of a shovel and one handle with a rounded section. It was found in a large granary, which supports its explanation as a measuring grain tool – crucible or grain ladle (Alkım U. et al. 1988:207-209, Pl. XLVI, 6; Fig. 156), or why not – as a grain standard<sup>37</sup>. The very similar artefact from Alaca was interpreted, however, as a melting ceramic tool (Alkım U. et al. 1988:179-181, note 130, Pl. XXI, 5-6).

The small double pot-stand from Galabovo (Fig. 13, 2) was also known in Anatolia. Two similar pot-stands were published from Boğazköy (level NW-Hang 9). The first one is short, double conical and wide and the second has a cylindrical shape and vertical slots in the walls (Orthmann W. 1963:148, Taf. 14/18-19). The double conical pot-stand from Alishar is closer to that from Galabovo, but has not been stratified. The same value has a pot-stand from Ahlatlibel (Orthmann W. 1963:116, Taf. 2/108; 121, 126, Taf. 26, 5/66). A small bowl on a high stand, called “Fruchtständer” originates from layer 12 of the Kültepe (Citadel). The parallel is quite problematic, considering the typological features and the painted decoration of the vessel (Orthmann W. 1963:105, Taf. 1/10). It is rather an example that the large bowls on a high stand, quite popular in Anatolia, were imitated in miniatures. Similar were the examples found even in Tarsus LBA I (Goldman H. 1956, Fig. 377. 974-976; on their diffusion and zones of production cf. Huot J.-L. 1982). These are scarce and rather general parallels, which allow defining the Galabovo piece as a “pot-stand”. The similarities are only functional. It was probably a local manufacture, but on the other hand, its occurrence in Galabovo is in unison with the series “strange” for the Upper Thrace Bronze Age ware.

### Parallels in the decoration and technology of the pottery

The incised decoration (Fig. 7, 5; 8, 1; 11, 3-4, 7-7a; 12, 1-2) during the EBA III-MBA in Anatolia is not very popular. Vessels with vertical strips, formed by incised lines and filled by dots were published from the earliest excavations of Troy II-V (Dörpfeld W. 1902:273,

<sup>35</sup> About one hypothetical function of the clay funnels cf. Amoroso P., P. Jewell 1963:126-137, as well as Leshtakov 1993. Some of them could be used for metallurgical purposes, attaching to the blast-pipe of bellows.

<sup>36</sup> There is a second example of this type found in Nebet tepe, excavations of A. Pejkov, but it is not published. Information from the Plovdiv Archaeological museum.

<sup>37</sup> All of the grain ladles that I knew have almost the same size, including the Nebet tepe example. It would be a challenge to presuppose that the measuring standards in Upper Thrace and Anatolia in the EBA 3-MBA could be the one and the same.

Beil. 37. V, VIII)<sup>38</sup>. These patterns are known from Galabovo, but they are also scarce here. There are parallels regarding the incised lines, flanked with oblong piercing (Dörpfeld W. 1902:275, Fig. 163). Very close are the triples hanging angles laid three times on the shoulders of jugs (Dörpfeld W. 1902:280, Beil. 38. IV). Sherds with incised lines, strokes and dots were also recorded during the American excavation in Troy V, but their number is small. The patterns are single or in grouped lines, areas with vertical fill of incised lines, rectangles or triangles, filled with dots (Blegen C. et al. 1951:250), sometimes with white incrustation (Blegen C. et al. 1951, Fig. 245, 249). Incised and pierced decoration, arranged in strips with oblique grooves or oblong piercing are also recorded in the MBA levels at Tarsus. They are absolutely similar to those from Galabovo (cf. Goldman H. 1956, Pl. 300).

The “pattern burnish” decoration (Fig. 5, 6-7) is known in Eastern Thrace and the Marmara region on wheel-made as well as hand-made vessels (Özdoğan M. 1993:158-161). One very important fact that should be mentioned is that some of them pertain to the “fine metallic ware” type, very similar to the amphorae from Galabovo 2. The examples come from the region of Yenisehir and Iznik (Özdoğan M. 1993, Fig. 2. 15-18). These data, however, are from field surveys, and the conclusions about the exact dating are not definite. Stratified vessels with “pattern burnish” were also published from Troy V (Blegen C. et al. 1951:251). There are cross-line patterns as well as other decorative schemes (Blegen C. et al. 1951, Fig. 146, Nos. 4a-b, F 197, Shape A19; Fig. 245, No. 5). It seems that in Troy V mostly bone-tools were used for burnishing and the pebble polishing is more rare than in earlier times (Blegen C. et al. 1951:36, 138).

The assigning the stamped decoration on big vessels in Galabovo (Fig. 14, 3-4) to the BA is tentative by three main reasons: firstly, we have not an intact pot decorated in this technique; secondly, the larger part of the pot-sherds does not have a definite stratigraphic context; and thirdly, similar decoration occurs also during the EIA in Nebet Tepe, Pshenichevo and elsewhere in Upper Thrace. However, the sherds coming from mentioned EIA sites do not have a steady context and BA ware have also been reported from the same excavated areas. This confused the dating of the Galabovo stamped-sherds via internal Thracian parallels, so we ought to find additional arguments for their belonging. The EIA sherds and one intact vessel were found only in pits in Galabovo, and neither was among the discussed ones. Moreover, some of the big stamped patterned sherds (but not all of them!) were found in the second building level of the site. All these arguments give the reason to suggest very carefully that the Galabovo sherds could be referred to the MBA. Accordingly, if we analyse this information in the context of the true Anatolian imports, their native imitations and other Galabovo similarities with Central Anatolian pottery repertoire, we could avoid the old mistake to interpret much later ware as pre- or protohistorian<sup>39</sup>. On the other hand, the peculiarities of

<sup>38</sup> On the vessel Troy 37.VIII the strips are limited to the base of the neck and the at most protruding part of the body by two other strips, filled with one row of studs.

<sup>39</sup> Let us bear in mind the interpretation the Thracian Late Iron Age wheel-made grey ware in East Serbia as “minyan” imports or the dating of the Late Chalcolithic in Northeast Balkans in the 18<sup>th</sup> century BC for the same reasons.



the clay, the stamp-technique and the very patterns have close parallels in Anatolia. If we account the parallels in Southeast direction we should once more calculate the Central Anatolian examples. The stamped decoration is well presented among the Hittite pottery. The depositories from *kārum Kanish* supplement the mentioned pottery parallels, therefore I will not dwell on it. It should be pointed out that the stamps used there are very similar to Galabovo patters (Özgüç N. 1968). The same decoration could be found in Karahöyük (Konya), laid through round stamps also on the depositories (Alp S. 1968, Taf. 23, 55-57; 24, 58-59). The pattern displays circles, sometimes shouldered by interconnected spirals (Alp S. 1968, Taf. 27, 65-68; 28, 69-71, Nos. 69-71). Hence, the analogues concern not only in the techniques, but also in the basic patterns, the general shape and function of the vessels and the place of the decoration, which almost exclude the idea for accidental coincidences.

The parallels in plastic decoration are very popular on cups, little jugs, amphorae and some types of bowls (Fig. 6, 6; 7, 1; 8, 1-2; 10, 4, 12, 3). The position of the plastic knobs on the body is usually between the handles. The parallels of the amphorae and cups in the compared repertoires are very close. Analogues could be also found among the smooth plastic bands and the place of their attaching (Fig. 9, 3; 12, 1).

Several technological groups among the intact vessels and the Galabovo 1a-4 sherds could be considered as an additional argument to the discussed thesis. We do not know them in the EBA 3 ware in Upper Thrace: black "metal" coated ware; grey fine ware; the wheel-made uncoated ("tongründig") ware; white or cream-white coated ware. Red coated was found not only in the uppermost levels at Galabovo but in a number of EBA 3 sites in Upper Thrace - Constantia (Georgiev Pl. 1981) Tell Madrets (Gudzhova Mogila) and in the ritual ditch-complex Cherna Gora 1, Chirpan region<sup>40</sup> etc. All the above mentioned techniques have parallels in Anatolia or in the Aegean.

During the EBA III/MBA in Northwest Anatolia until the time of middle Troy VI the red coated ware were widespread, as well as the red wash ware and the grey ware, supplemented by "buff ware". The same ware was registered in the region of Balıkesir, Inegöl and Iznik (Mellaart J. 1957:83). The red coated ware and the red wash ware were very popular in Troy, but gradually declining in MBA. The surface is polished, varying from red in different shades to wash-brown in colour; they are undecorated in general. In the group of "red coated ware" from Troy II are also some of "Depas" cups (Blegen C. et al. 1951:221). In Troy II the types "grey ware" and "black ware" are hand- and wheel-made. The slip and the polishing by the last most often obliterate potter-maker's finger lines and they are hardly distinguished from the hand-made pottery (Blegen C. et al. 1951:19). At the beginning of MBA (Troy V) "red coated ware" is wheel-made, and the slip entirely covers the body or only a part of it. Their colour is purple or brown-red, but there are also dark or light brown varieties. The surface is coated by thick to very fine slip, often – washed. The traces of the potter's wheel are usually obliterated. The same technique continues also in early Troy VI and in all categories of vessels (Blegen C. et al. 1951:235-236). The wheel-made "red wash" ware gradually established itself at the end of the EBA III/MBA. It is stratigraphically traced in Troy III-V and in Beycesultan

<sup>40</sup>The author conducted the excavations at the last two sites; the reports are forthcoming.

XII-VI, and regionally it comprises Western Anatolia and the west coastal region without significant local differences (Yakar J. 1985:84-85).

The grey ware in Western Anatolia from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC is similar to the “red-slipped ware” as a manner of production. It is recorded mainly in the interior – Iznik, Yenishahir and Inegöl, where from it obtained its name – “Inegöl grey ware” (French D. 1973:51-52)<sup>41</sup>. “Pattern-burnish” decoration covers the internal surface of the bowls, as the lines are radial and vertical (French D. 1967:62), just like those from Galabovo. It seldom occurs to the east of the Eskishehir region, but it is recorded in Ilipinar III along with “Depas” sherds (cf. above). In Troy the type is considered to be a predecessor of the “Minyan” pottery (Yakar J. 1985:85). The vessels from Troy V are slipped and polished, but scarce in number – up to 7%. According to the authors, they are developed from the black and grey ware of Troy V and exist along with the “Minyan vessels” in early Troy VI (Blegen C. et al. 1951:118, 235).

The sherds with washed slip (“transparent” or “washed”) in Troy V are fully comparable to ours. They are considered to be import from the Cyclades, and the manner of the slipping resembles the “urfirnis” technique – a fine brush was used. Small cups, bowls, jugs and pots of different size were manufactured in this manner (Blegen C. et al. 1951:236). At present, as far as I know, there is no evidence of existence of similar pottery in Eastern Thrace. This makes probable the assumption that the fragments with transparent slip in Galabovo could be import from the Cyclades, like those in Troy.

It would be important to mention some small finds which are alien for Upper Thrace in the Bronze Age at the very end of the expose – a brush handle, a small “table” with incised patterns and several loom-weights with stamped and incised signs (Fig. 14, 5-8). Obviously some of them have also Anatolian affinity.

## Discussion

The parallels of the above mentioned intact vessels and the sherds, accomplished by decoration and specific ware from Galabovo are in well-stratified sites from the so-called Transitional period to the Hittite kingdom in Anatolia, not only in Troy. This is a quite new observation and a new line of parallelism in general. A part of these sites, like kārūm Hattush, kārūm Kanish and Acemhöyük (kārūm Zalpa<sup>42</sup>) is with historic chronology and they are dated by cuneiform tablets. It could bridge the dates of Central Anatolia to the Balkans through the synchronous sites in West-Central Anatolia and in Eastern Thrace. On the ground of all discussed parallels, it seems that the hypothesis on dating of Galabovo 1a-4 at the end of the EBA III/beginning of the “Transitional period” in Anatolia till to the 18<sup>th</sup> millennium BC is logical and tenable. Of primary importance is the fact that the pottery from Galabovo has parallels also at Mikro Vouni in Samothrace Island. Bowls, dishes, tee-pots, fragments with pattern burnish, analogous to those in Galabovo were found there. The pottery from

<sup>41</sup> “Inegöl” ware was manufactured on a potter’s wheel. Their surface is grey, washed, and polished.

<sup>42</sup> On the identification of Acemhöyük (or Acemhöyük) as kārūm Zalpa see Steiner G. 1993:579-581 and esp. 582, note 68 on p. 583; 598-599.

Samothrace is dated ca. 18<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, because of the existence of true imports from Crete (Matsas D. 1991; 1995:235-247). Thus, the two lines of synchronisation – “Egyptian” and “Mesopotamian” meet not only in Troy, but also in Thrace. In order to adopt this cross-line of synchronisation we need additional arguments, new archaeological facts and comprehensive analysis of the old evidence.

The significance of the new synchronisation line with Anatolia is better substantiated and can be summarised in several points:

1. For the first time in Upper Thrace artefacts surely dating from the very end of the EBA III/the beginning of the MBA in Anatolian sense of the term were found.
2. The most important finds from Galabovo are not native. They represent true imports and “imitations” mainly from Western and even Central Anatolia. Accordingly, the region could be included in the economic and cultural sphere of the early historical societies, but as a northern periphery. The existence of real trade roads<sup>43</sup>, through which these imports infiltrate in Upper Thrace, could hardly be doubted. This, in its turn, indicates the existence of a mutual interest presumably provoked by the availability of valuable goods for the Anatolian inhabitants. What exactly was the model of this ancient trade is still early to be supposed (Leshtakov 1996:239-287). Therefore, the confrontation of the two economic and social models, mentioned above in the expose, should be revised. On the other hand, if we exaggerate the available evidence, it would be very easy to cross the border of the over-interpretation of the facts.
3. For the first time true imports beyond the arch of the “Chronological “fault line” are recorded. That means that the dating of the BA on the Balkans can rely not only on the radiocarbon dates. Some will consider this assertion too far-fetched, and the attempt to “transfer” historical dates so far to the north looks at first sight like a result of over-interpretation. The further investigations will show whether that is true or not. For the time being, this idea, even in the form of a brave hypothesis, has the every reason to be discussed.
4. Undoubted novelty is the methodological equalisation of the investigations in the Aegean-Anatolian region and in Upper Thrace. For the dating of Galabovo 1a-4 both classical methods – “Chain dating” and dating through true imports could be applied. Thus, purely methodologically the investigations of the BA in Upper Thrace try to reach the level of the Near East, of course, with one basic difference – the lack of native written records. The historical dating of the earlier EBA in Crete, however, never relied on the local written tradition. The same is also the situation in Greece, located in the interior of “The Chronological “fault line”.
5. According to me, it is possible through the “Chain dating” and the internal Thracian imports to synchronise Upper Thrace culture with the North and West – to the Lower Danube and the Central Balkans. So far, the correlation in the second direction seems to be better supported from a factual point of view. This is due to the long stratigraphic sequence in Yunatsite and the strong affinity of the pottery to the Central Balkans.

<sup>43</sup> The term “trade road” here bears the sense of “main directions of exchange of goods and raw materials”.



I would like to sum up that “The chronological “fault line” – an undoubtedly useful, for its time, methodological instrument, is gradually fading away, accomplished its purpose – to emancipate the cultures of Southeast Europe towards the East Mediterranean. At the same time the term, as well as the whole idea turned out to be inapplicable to the present stage of the empirical base. As it was already mentioned in the exposé, they are attacked by the chronological positions of the Neolithic, as well as the EBA III/MBA. Therefore, the dividing line of the “Chronological “fault line” could not limit regions, whose cultures after the EBA II were dated by different methods.

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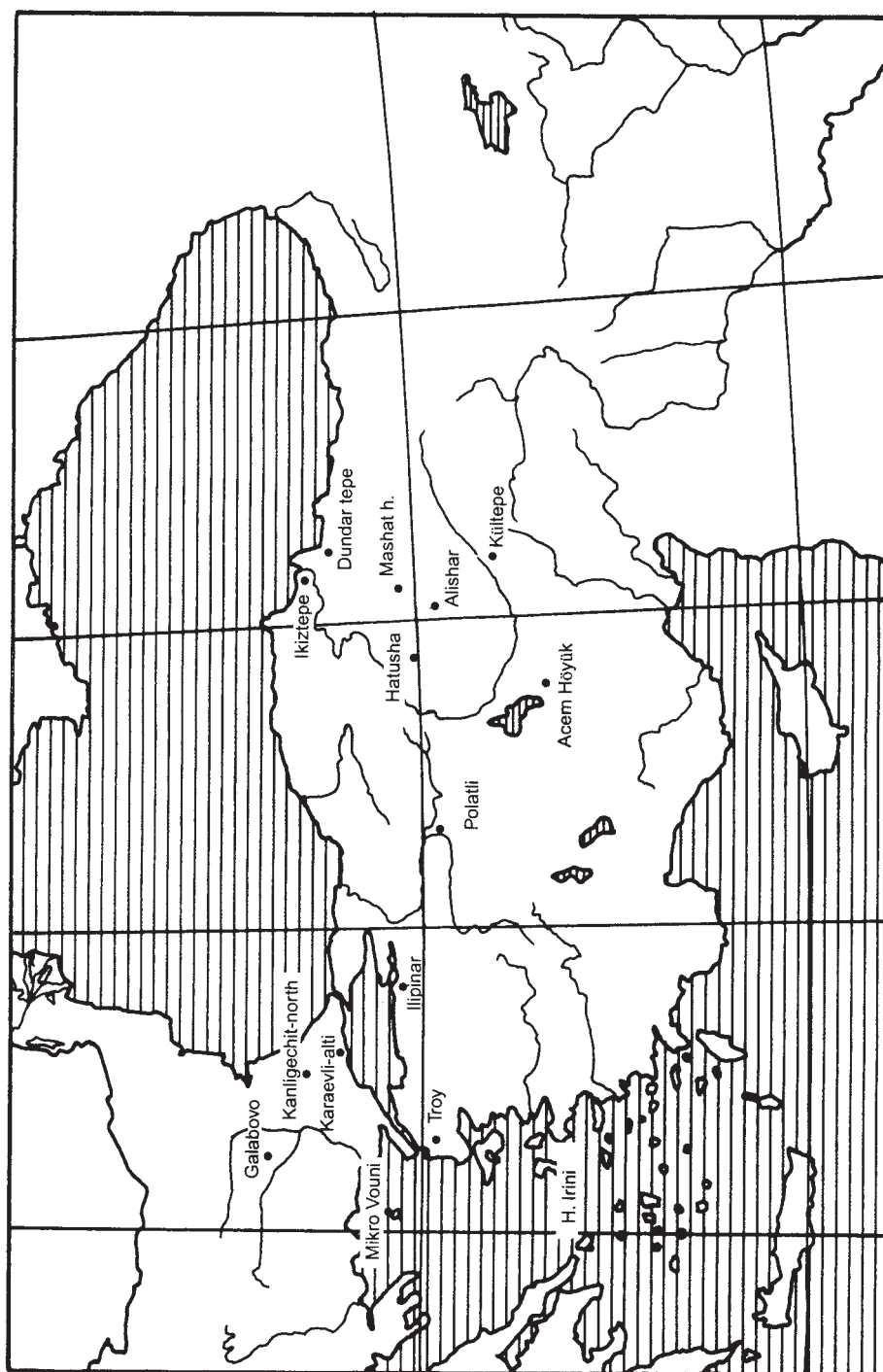
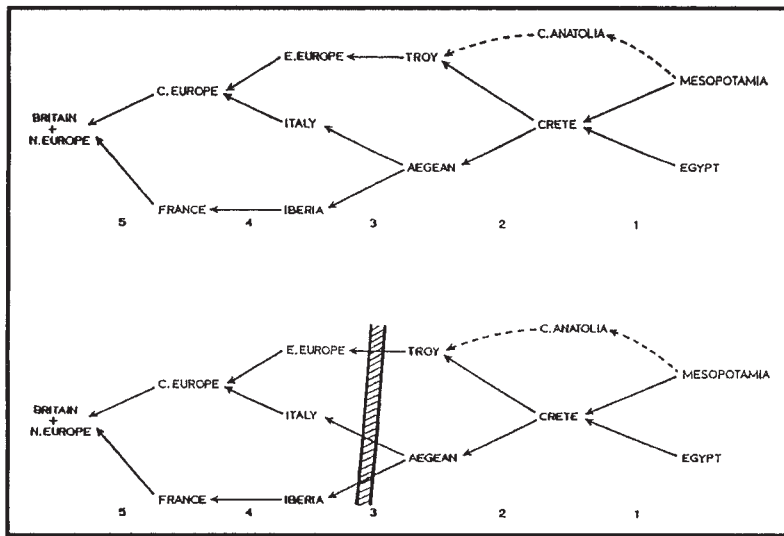
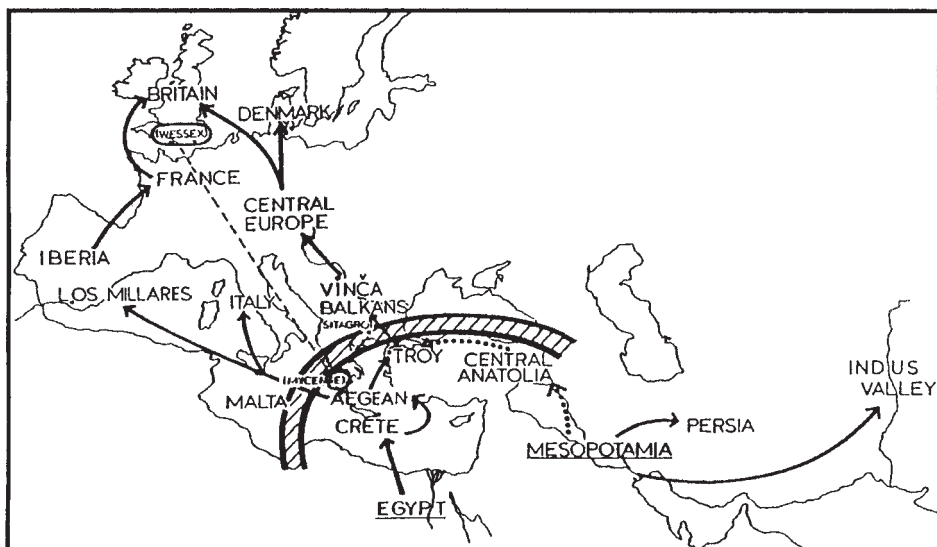


Fig. 1. Map of the major sites mentioned in the text.



1

Fig. 2.1. Logical structure of the conventional dating for European prehistory and the chronological "fault line" produced by the dendrochronological calibration of radiocarbon dates; after C. Renfrew 1973, Fig 3a-b.



2

Fig. 2.2. The chronological "fault line" in Europe; after C. Renfrew 1973, Fig. 4.



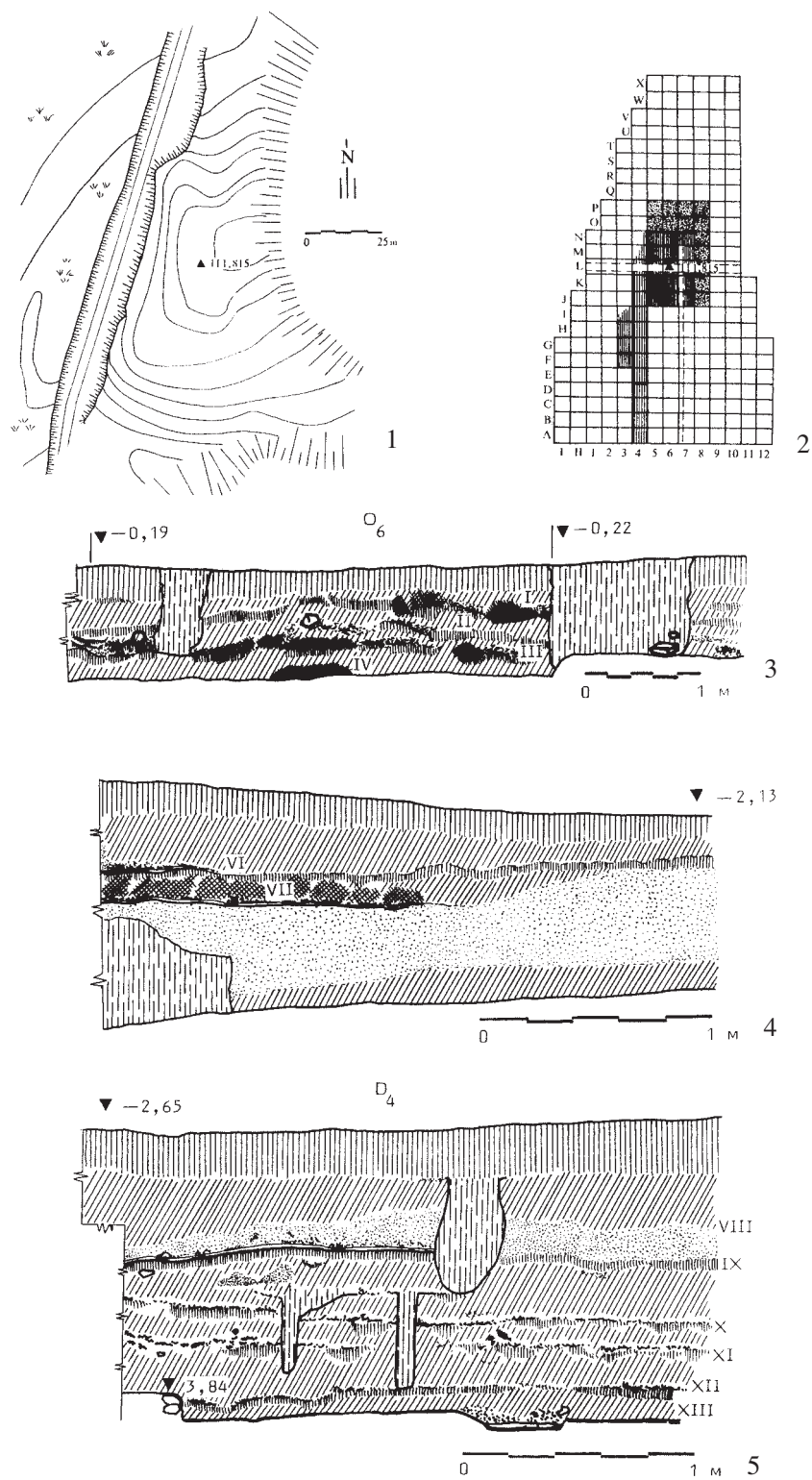
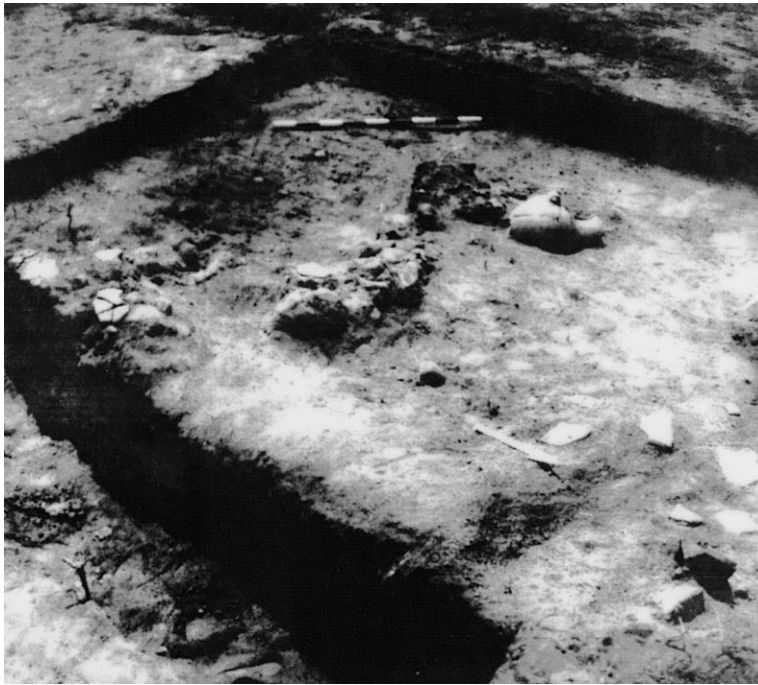
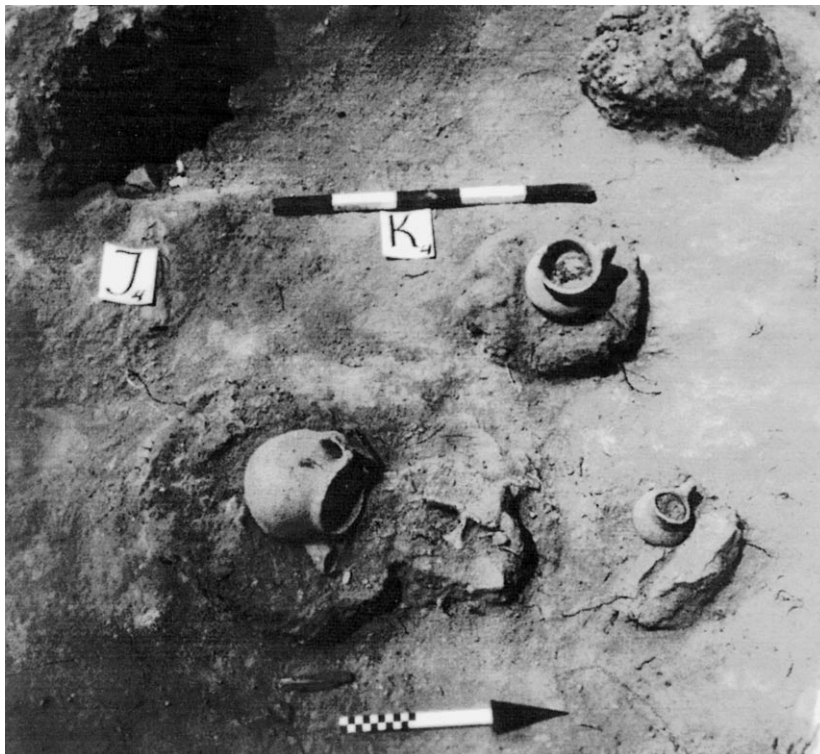


Fig. 3. Tell Galabovo — topographic scheme, excavated area till 1995 and profiles of the Bronze Age layer.



1



2

Fig. 4. Dwellings from second and third building levels with pottery in situ.

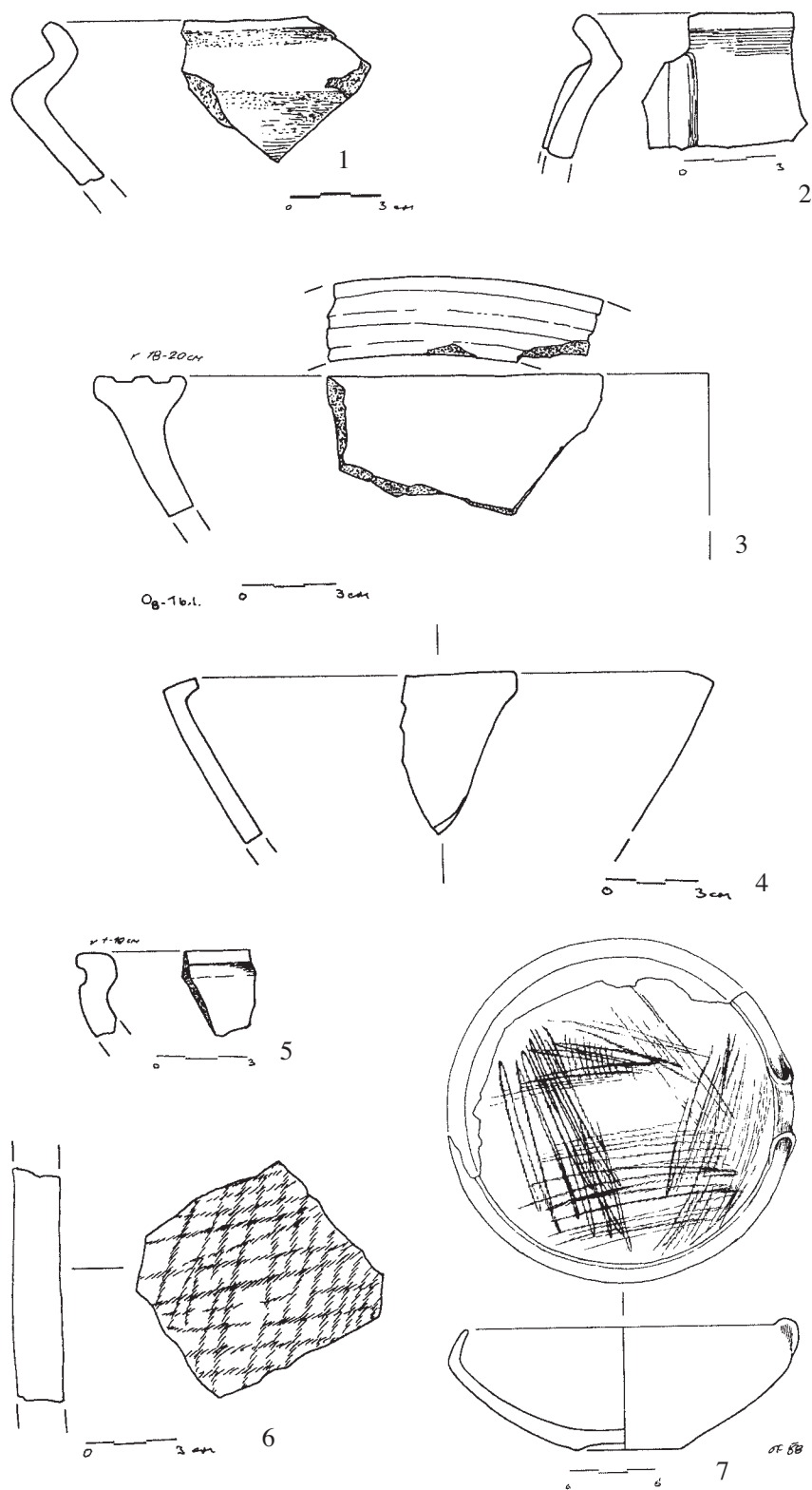


Fig. 5. Tell Galabovo — different bowl-types from first building level from house complexes.



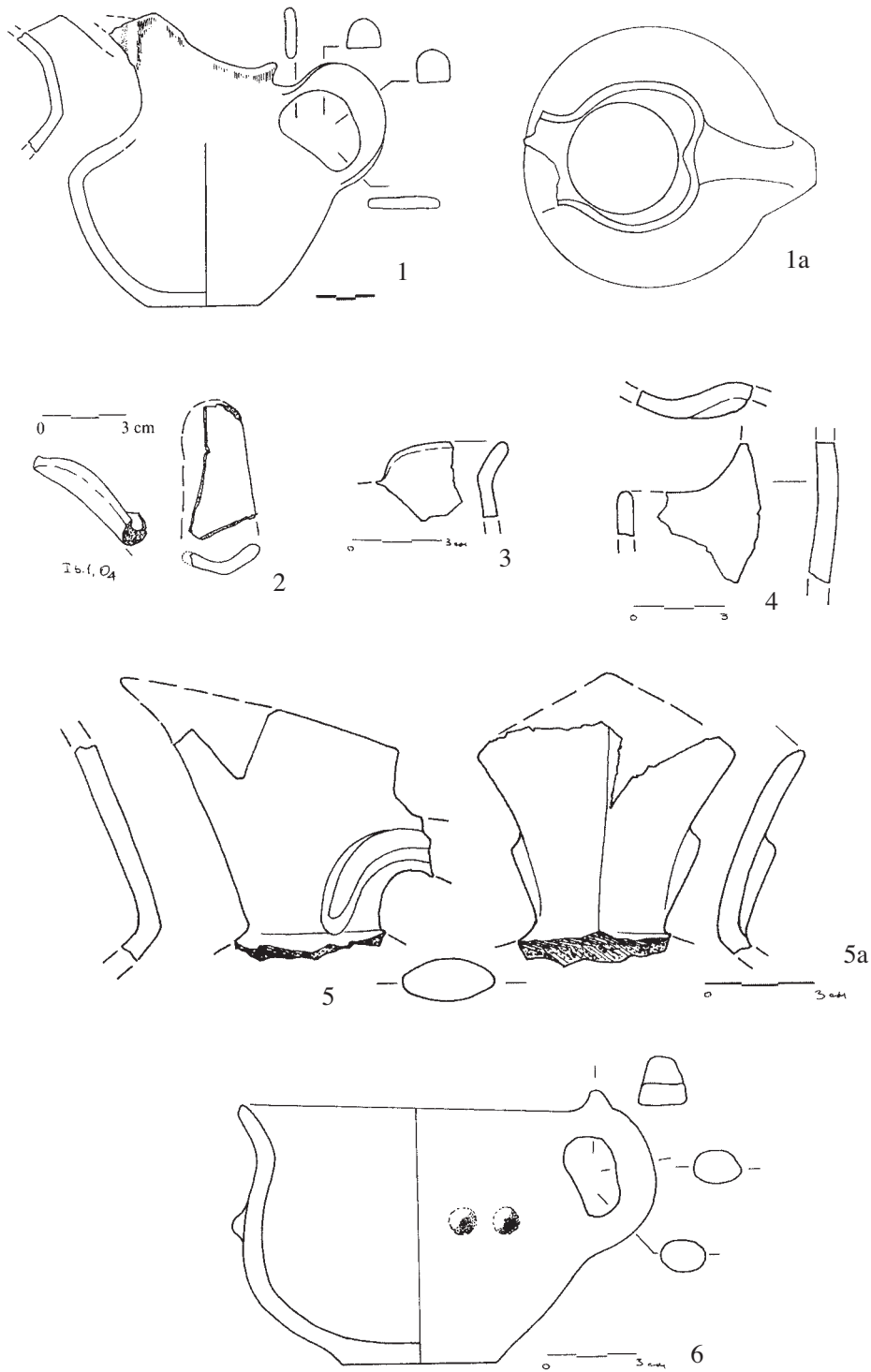


Fig. 6. Tell Galabovo — trefoil mounted jug from second building level (1-1a), beak-sherds from imported jugs from first building level (2-5) and S-profiled cup (6).

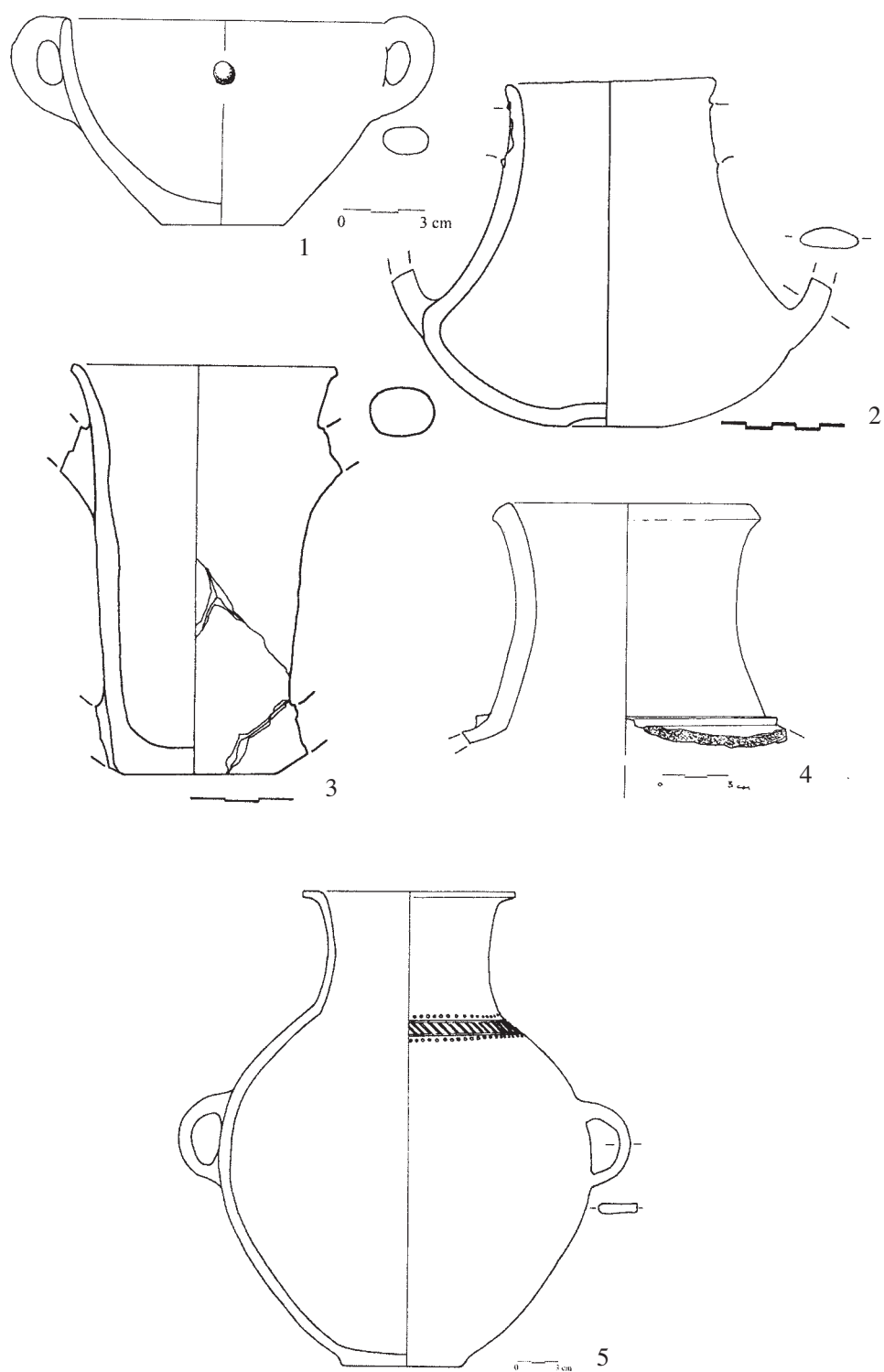


Fig. 7. Tell Galabovo — two handled cup, tankard, depas and wheel-made amphorae from house complexes (1-5, 5) and from a passage (4).

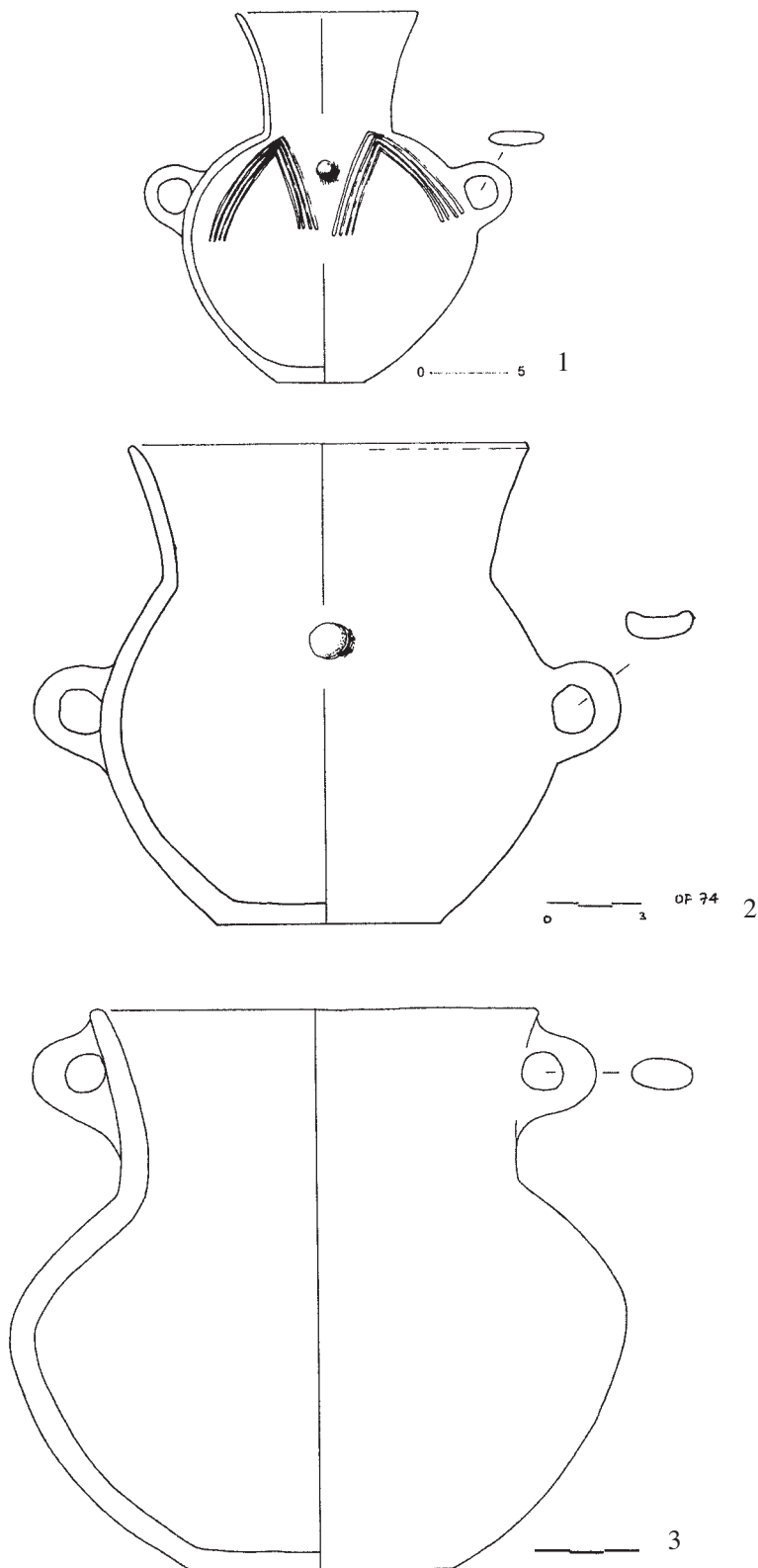


Fig. 8. Tell Galabovo — different types of amphorae, 1-3 rd building level.



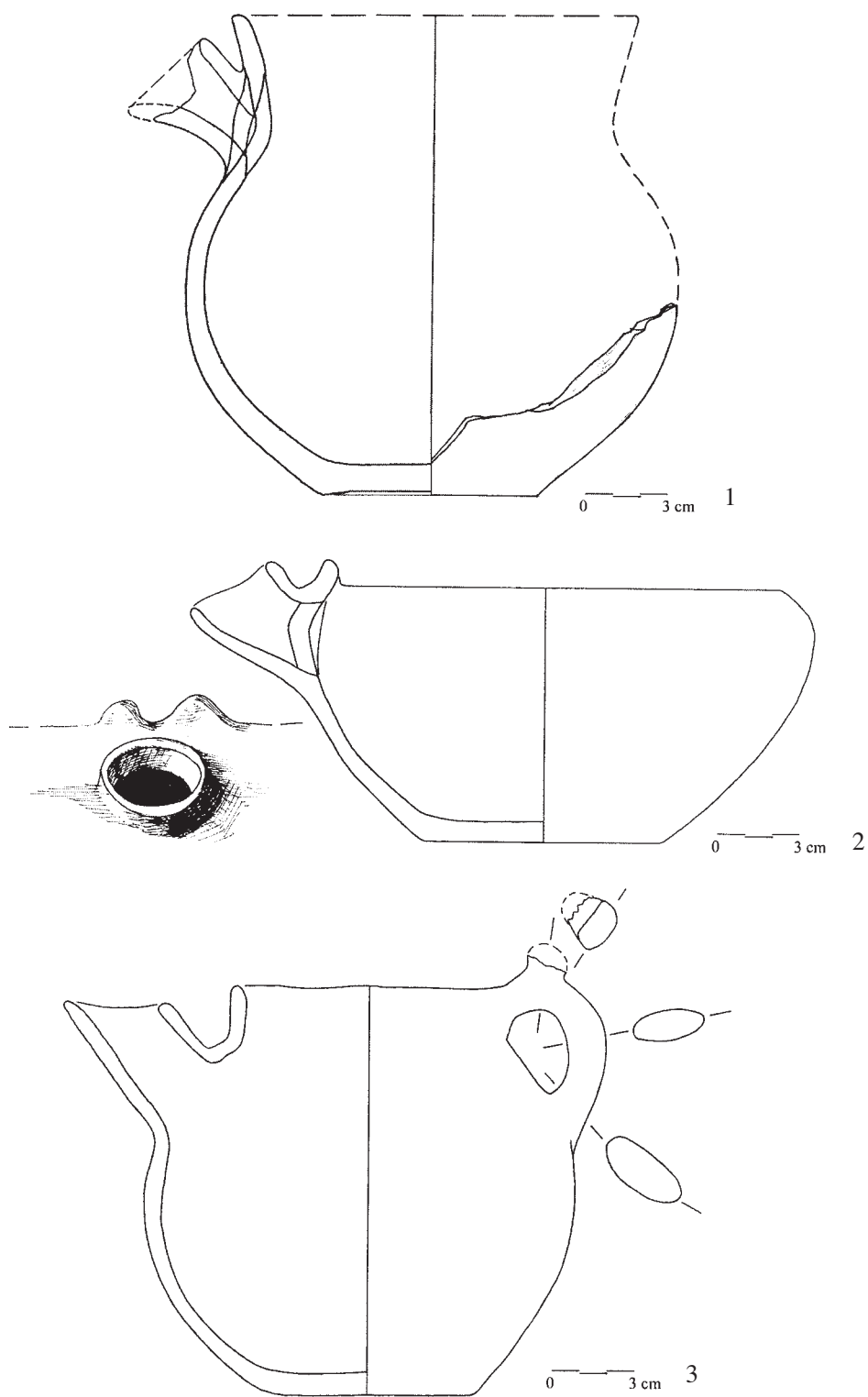


Fig. 9. Tell Galabovo — teapots, 1-3 rd building level.

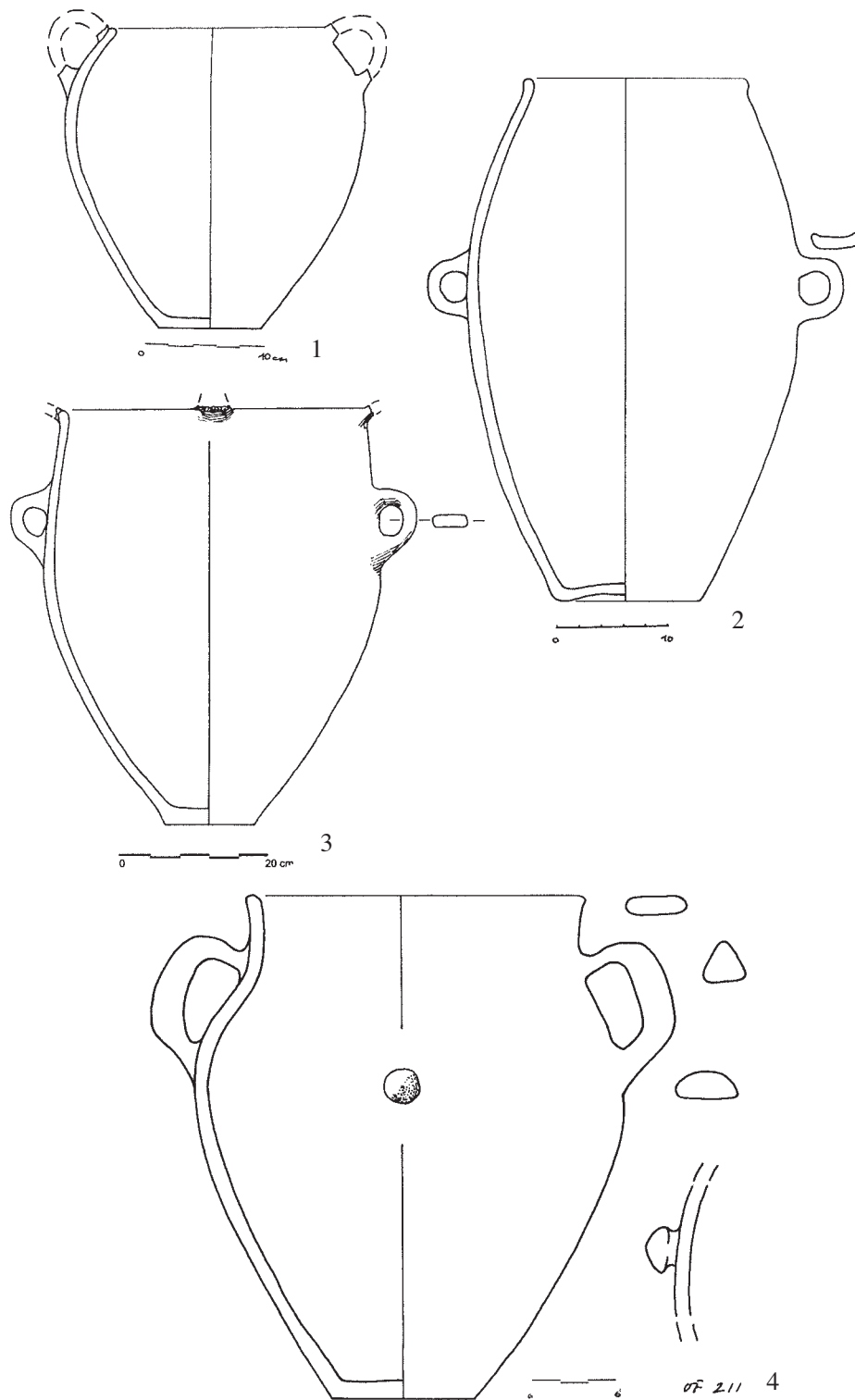


Fig. 10. Tell Galabovo — depositories unusual for the Thracian Bronze Age.

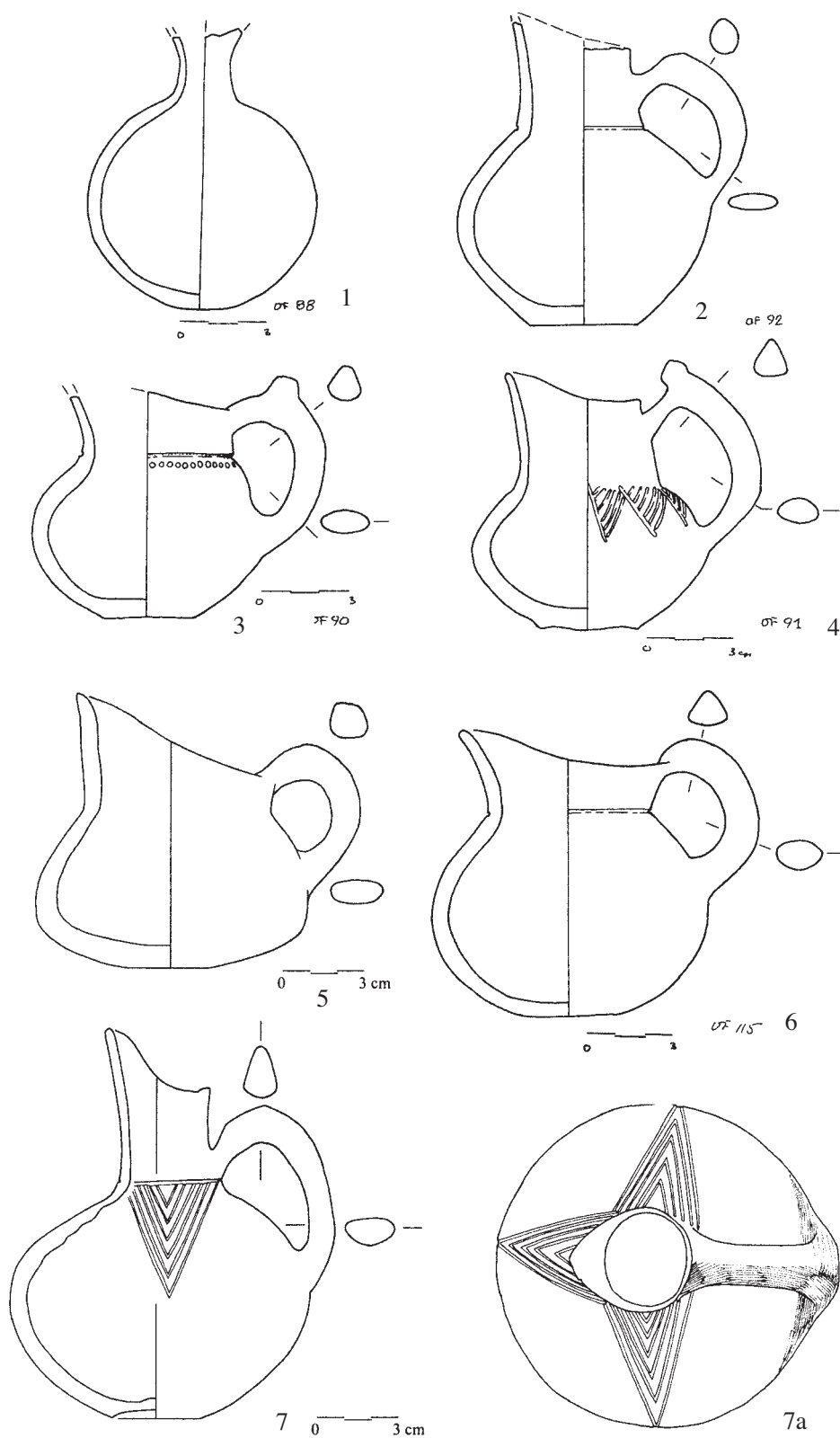


Fig. 11. Tell Galabovo — pottery from one house from third building level found together, wheel- and handmade.



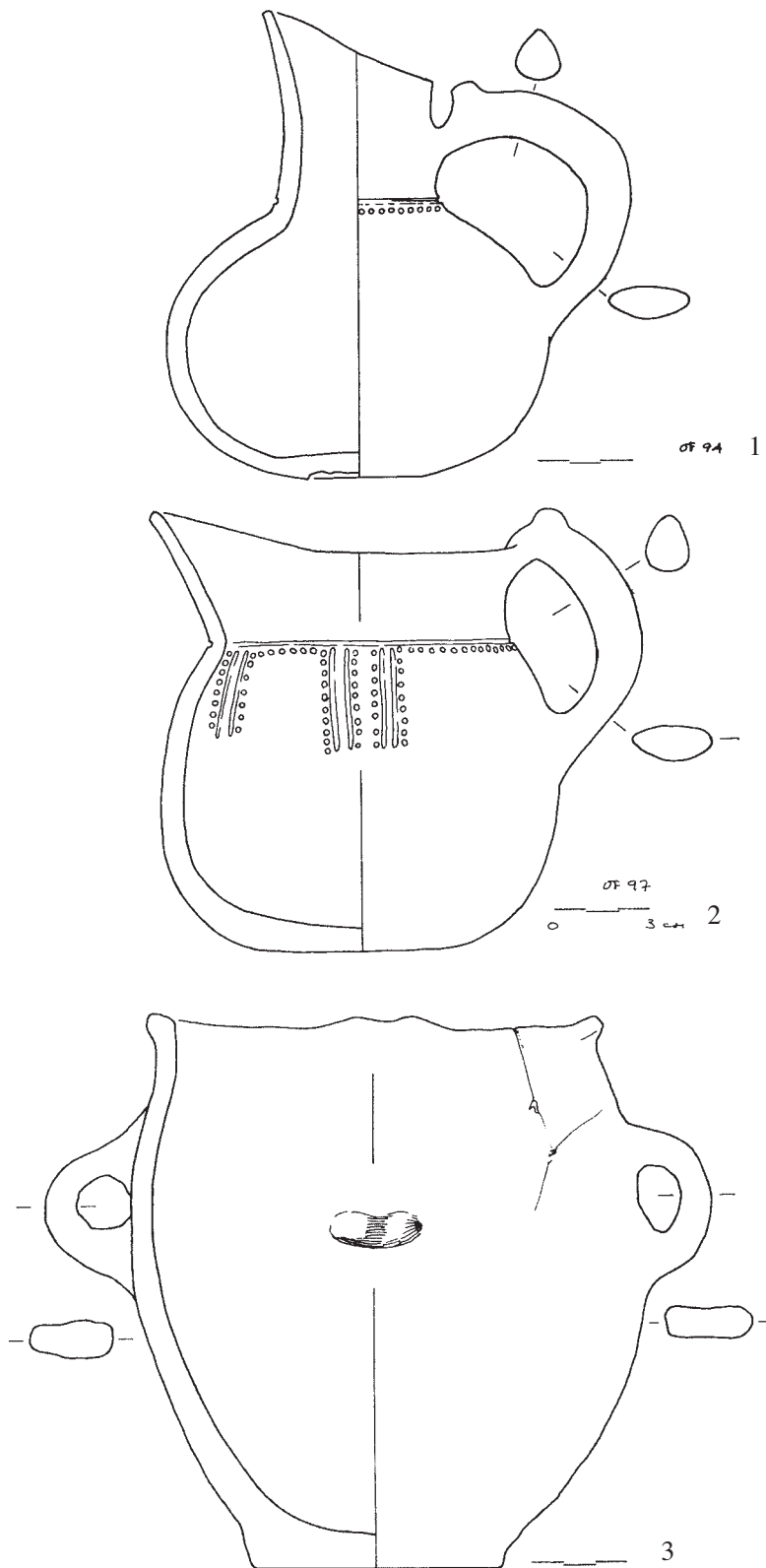


Fig. 12. Tell Galabovo — pottery from one house from third building level found together, 1 is wheelmade.

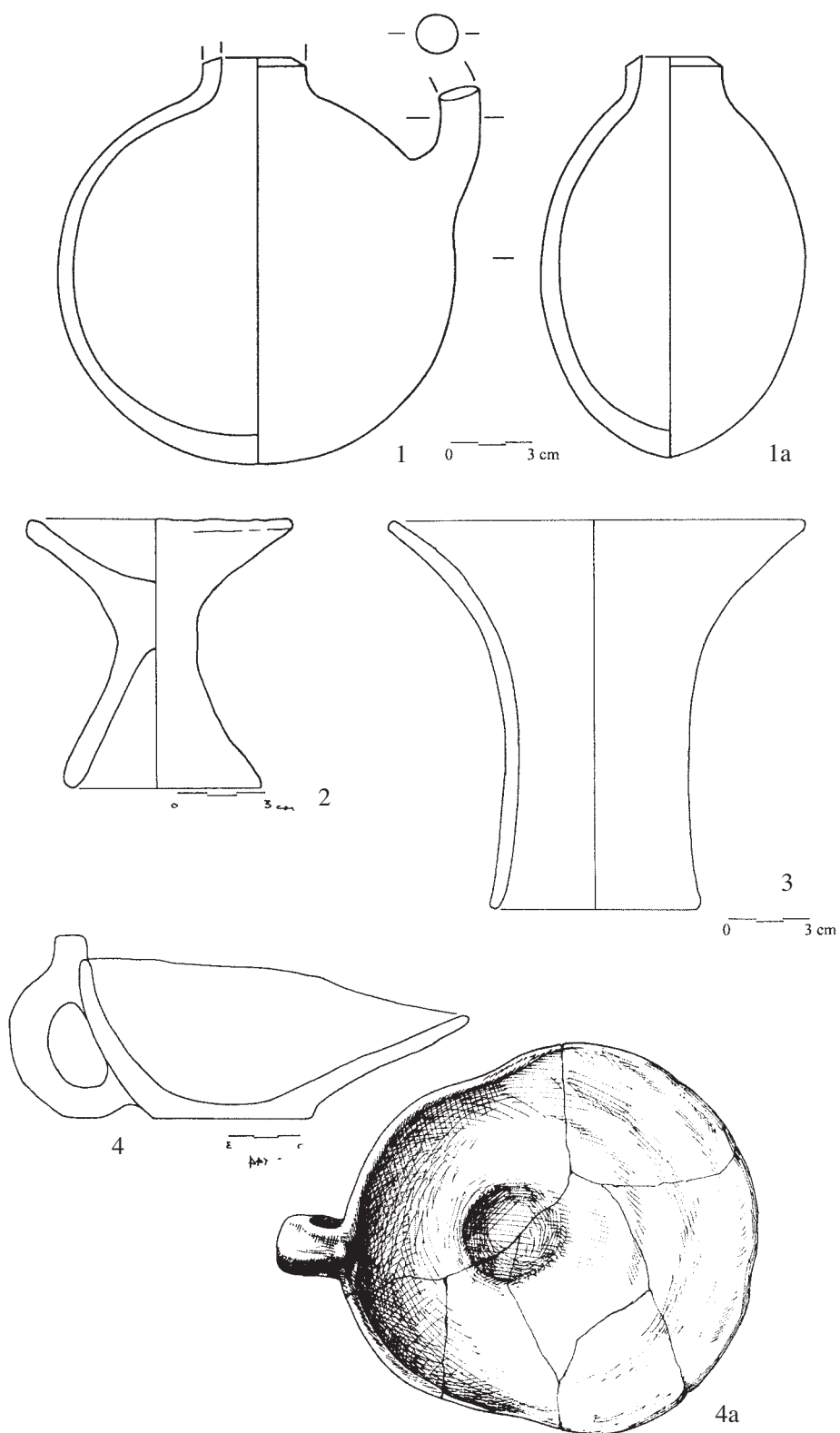


Fig. 13. Tell Galabovo — pilgrim flask (1-1a), potstand, funnel and grain ladle from first building level.

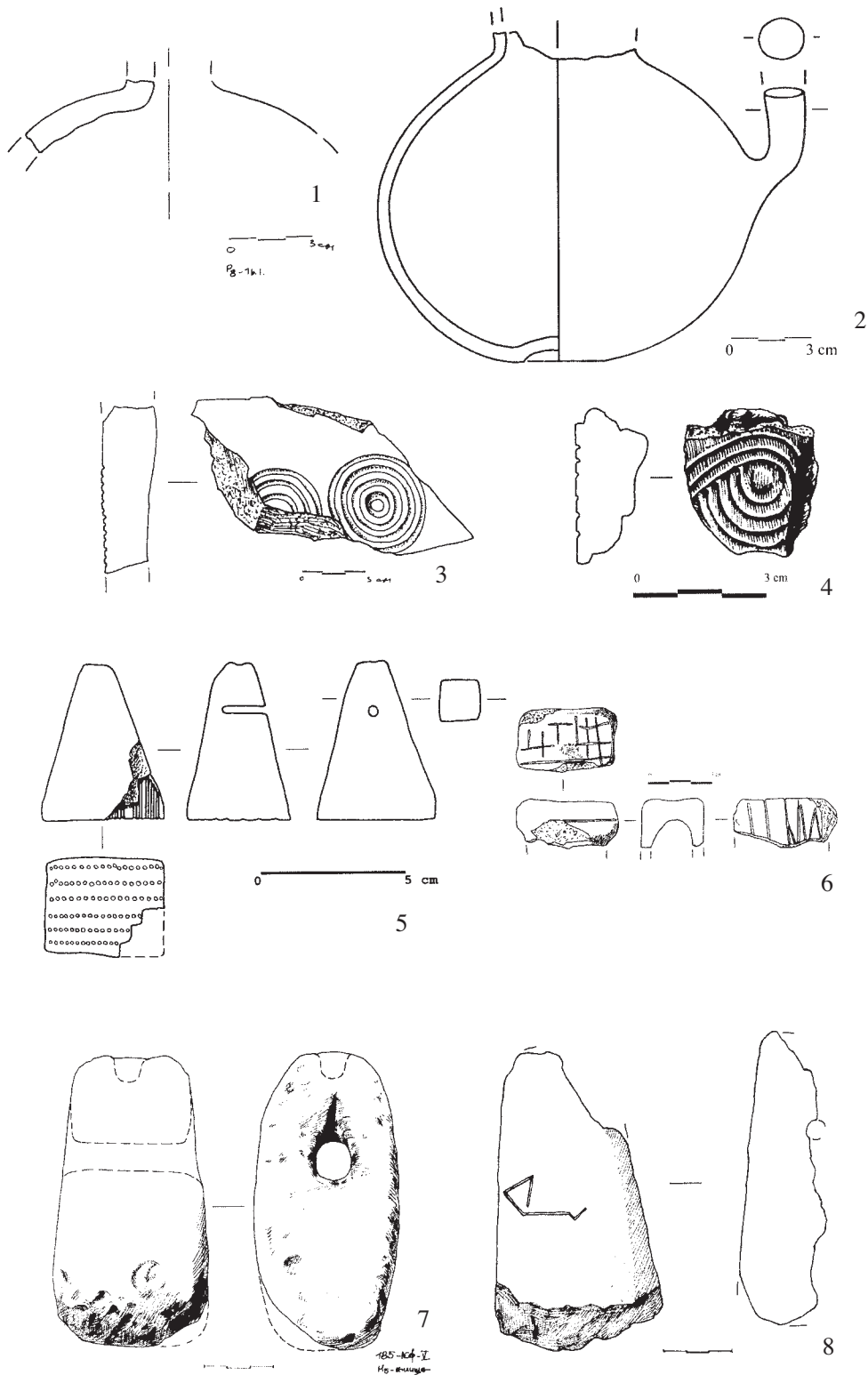


Fig. 14. Tell Galabovo — a sherd from a globular flask and an imported jug, wheelmade, from building level one (1-2), stamped patterns (3-4) and some rare finds from building levels 1-3.